A

NARRATIVE

OF THE TROUBLES WITH THE

INDIANS

In *NEW-ENGLAND*, from the first planting thereof in the year 1607. to this present year 1677. But chiefly of the late Troubles in the two last years, 1675. and 1676.

To which is added a Discourse about the *Warre* with the

PEQUODS

In the year 1637.

By W. Hubbard, *Minister of* Ipswich.

And the Lord said unto Moses, write this for a Memoriall in a Book, and rehearse it in the ears of Joshua; for I will utterly put out the Remembrance of Amalek from under heaven. Exod. 17 14.

Wherefore it is said in the book of the Warrs of the Lord, what he did in the red sea, and in the Brooks of Arnon. Numb. 21 14.

As cold waters to a thirsty soul, so is good news from a far Country. Prov. 25. 25.

Expressa Imago, et quasi speculum quoddam vitæ humanæ est historia, quia talia vel similia semper possunt in mundo accidere. *Thucyd.*

Historia tradit quæ facta sint, et quæ semper sint futura, donec eadem manet hominum natura. *Idem.*

Historiæ cognitio tutissima institutio, et præparatio est ad actiones politicas, et illustris Magistra ad perferendas fortunæ vices. *Polyb.*

Published by Authority.

BOSTON,
Printed by *John Foster*, in the year 1677.

Printed by John Reid, in the year 1676.

JOHN CARTER BROWN

To the Honourable

JOHN LEVERET *Esq;*

Governour of the Colony of the *Massachusets*;

JOSIAH VVINSLOW *Esq;*

Governour of the Colony of *Plimouth*;

VVILLIAM LEET *Esq;*

Governour of the Colony of *Connecticut*.

NOtwithstanding the great and unvaluable good that hath in all ages of the World accrued to Mankind by Order and Goverment, yet such is the depravedness of mans nature, and imperfection of his knowledge, that it is as well hard to find out, as difficult to maintain, such a Form and Order of Goverment as will prove a sufficient Fence and security for so great a treasure as is the common good, and publick safety. After the sad and long experience of former times, some have thought no means can be found out so effectual for the upholding and and preserving the same, with all the sacred and civill rights and priviledges therunto belonging, as a liberty for people to designe and choose out from among themselves, the persons that are to be intrusted with those great concerns. Whatever may be said for the extolling the happiness of them that have such an advantage in their hands, all that may be comprehended within the compass of such a power, it is for the present in the principal and leading part thereof devolved upon your selves in all the three Colonies of *New-England*; who by the choyce of the free people in those your several Jurisdictions, are now called to act your several parts as chief on the publick stage of Goverment. Ever since you have taken your turns at the helm, there have been very boisterous winds and rough Seas, threatning the shipwrack of all; which notwithstanding, you need not be discouraged, while due consideration is had, to whom, and what you have embarqued with you. When once the great *Roman Conquerer*, and chief founder of their Monarchy, was passing the *Adriatick Sea* in a disguize, the Pilot being dismayed with the fierceness of the wind, the raging of the waves, his Passenger pulled off his disguize, and

bid him be of good courage and not fear, for he carried *Caſar*, and all his Fortunes: Surely Jeſus Chriſt and all his promiſes, in which you are not a little concerned, is a far better ground of comfort and encouragement in a ſtormy ſeaſon. *Luther* was wont to ſay, or did once in a great exigent ſay, that he had rather *ruere eum Chriſto quam ſtare eum Cæſare*; accounting Chriſt a better friend, though falling as to the world to truſt to, then *Cæſar* ſtanding in power, according to the words of Chriſt himſelf, *greater is he that is in you, then he that is in the World*: So as all ſuch may ſay with the Prophet, *Rejoyce not againſt me O mine enemy; for when I fall, I ſhall riſe, when I ſit in darkneſs, the Lord ſhall be a Light unto me*; which I truſt your ſelves have had ſo much experience of, in theſe late dark diſpenſations, that if ſometimes you have not ſeen, yet alwayes you have believed that *Light was ſowne for the righteous*, and that there ſhall be a cleer breaking forth of the ſun, after the tempeſt is over; what God hath planted, ſhall not by man, or any of Satans Inſtruments be plucked up. It is with young Colonies, as it is with trees newly planted, which thoſe winds, as one ſaith, that are not ſo boiſterous as to blow down, doe ſo far advantage as to ſhake them to a greater faſtneſs at the root. The Soveraign Ruler of the World doth uſually by ſuch wayes and meanes bring about his peoples good, at the firſt, not well underſtood, nor eaſily brooked, till the quiet fruit of righteouſneſs be diſcerned to ſpring up unto all ſuch as are exerciſed therein. It hath been no ſmall advantage that the ſtaff of Goverment, and the ſhields of this part of the earth were put into your hands (before the Boar out of the Wood hath broke into this Vineyard) who under God we truſt may be found the repairers of the breach, and the Reſtorers of Paths to dwell in, while both your ſelves, and thoſe under your charge, and conduct, are looking unto him, who is promiſed to be the peace of his people when the *Aſſyrian* ſhall come into their land.

The conſideration of the power wherewith you are invelled, together with the great Wiſdome, Faithfulneſs and Courage by which it hath been managed by you, in your ſeveral ſtations, hath induced me to deſire that the Hiſtoricall diſcourſe enſuing might paſs into publick view under the umbrage of your Protection. If a reaſon be demanded for the entituling ſo many names of worth to the patronage of ſo ſmall and inconſiderable a Volume, I need no other Apology at this time, then I find in the words of the Wiſe Man, there are caſes wherein *two are better then one, and a three fold Cord is not eaſily broken*: For it being like to paſs through your ſeveral Juriſdictions, I conceived it might need a paſport

of

of ſafe conduct from him that doth preſide in either of them. It can die nothing with it but truth, (as I hope will be found) which may well expect to meet with a ready Welcome, and ſuitable entertainment in every honeſt mind, but all men are not ſo equally ballanced in their affections as to bear with plain dealing, and give that harmleſs dove a reſting place in their minds for the ſole of her foot. Of all Writings, thoſe that are hiſtorical, eſpecially while the things mentioned are freſh in memory, and the actors themſelves for viving, had need be purſued with a wary pace. Notwithſtanding the great care that hath been taken to give all and every one, any way concerned in the ſubject of the diſcourſe, their juſt due, and nothing more or leſs, yet perhaps ſome critical Reader will not let every ſentence paſs without ſome cenſure or other. It was once by a great man accounted no ſmall offence in an harmleſs Poet, that ſome of his Cities were misplaced as they were marſhalled up in their order: If any Hiſtorian ſhould commit an error paralel thereunto, a pardon, as it may be needed, in ſuch a Script as is the preſent Narrative, ſo may it be the better expected while paſſing up & down under the guard of your authority, yea thô it ſhould chance to be an offence of an higher nature, as the miſtiming of ſome paſſages, miſtaking the diſtance of ſome places, or too often touching upon the ſame particulars, which could not be well avoided in a Collection of ſo many occurrents too haſtily drawn up, though true, yet unſeaſonably, or out of due time coming to light without a total omiſſion of ſome material paſſages. It was intended at the firſt only as a private eſſay, wherein to bind up together the moſt memorable paſſages of divine providence, during our late, or former troubles with the *Indians*, it might have remained in the place where it was firſt conceived & formed, or been ſmothered as an imperfect Embrio, not worthy to ſee the light, if ſome ſuch as your ſelves had not both quickned the being, and haſtned the birth thereof. Something of this nature may be of uſe to poſterity, as well as to thoſe of the preſent Generation, to help them both to call mind, and carry along the memory of ſuch eminent deliverances, and ſpecial preſervations granted by divine favour to the people here, as it was of old commanded of God himſelf, that a Regiſter ſhould be kept of thoſe Warrs, which in oppoſition to others, were in a peculiar manner to be called the Warrs of the Lord; and ſuch are theſe here treated of, if any, ſince miraculous deliverances have ceaſed, may truly be ſaid to deſerve that title. If it had fallen into ſome abler hand, it might have been ſet forth with better choyce of words, and more fit expreſſi-

ons, that might have left a deeper impression on the minds of those who are most concerned to retain it; however it being now like to be brought to publick view, I have presumed to offer it to your selves, as on the accounts forementioned, so also as a testimony of my thankfull and deserved acknowledgment of that wisdome and integrity abundantly shewn forth in the administration of your authority.

Much honoured and Honourable, I have nothing more to adde, but the engagement of my continual and daily prayers to the God of the Spirits of all flesh, that he would carry you through all troubles, difficultyes and tryals you may be conflicting with, whither personal or political, and that he would bless your Councells at home, prosper your enterprizes abroad, and long continue your light in the present Generation, for his own glory, and his peoples good, that after you have served your Generation here, your memory like that of the just, may be blessed, and that you may leave peace as the inheritance of the remaining Israel of God in these ends of the earth, which is and shall be the earnest wish, and constant desire

of

From my Study
16th. 12th.
1676.

Your most humble and Devoted Servant,

William Hubbard.

An

An Advertiſement to the *Reader*.

THe following hiſtorical Eſſay, was when firſt drawn up, intended only for the ſatisfaction of a private Friend, & not for the uſe of the publick; therfore hope I may be excuſed, if I fall ſhort therein of that exactneſs, which might be expected from one that deſignedly undertook a Work of this nature: however truſting more to the judgment of ſome who have accidentally had the peruſal thereof, then mine own, I am not unwilling that others ſhould receive benefit thereby. The Compiler of an Hiſtory can challenge little to himſelf but methodizing the work, the materials being found to his hand: diligence in gathering them together, and faithfulneſs in improving them, is all that is upon point required of him, in both which I have endeavoured to make good, what the profeſſion I have now taken up obliges me unto. The matters of fact herein related (being rather Maſſacres, barbarous inhumane outrages, then acts of Hoſtility, or valiant atchievements) no more deſerve the name of a VVarre, then the report of them the title of an Hiſtory, therefore I contented my ſelf with a Narrative. Much of what is therein mentioned, depending on the ſingle authority of particular perſons, an exact deſcription of every occurrent was hardly to be obtained: All Souldiers are not like Cæſar, able to deſcribe with their pens, what they have done with their Swords: But the moſt material paſſages inſerted, were either gathered out of the Letters, or taken from the mouthes of ſuch as were eye or ear-witneſſes of the things themſelves; and thoſe alſo perſons worthy of credit. In ſuch paſſages as were variouſly reported by the Actors, or Spectators, that which ſeemed moſt probable is only inſerted. If any error be committed about the Scituation or diſtance of places, it may deſerve an excuſe rather then a cenſure: For our Souldiers in the purſuit of their enemies being drawn into many deſert places, inacceſſible Woods, and unknown Paths, which no Geographers hand ever meaſured, ſcarce any vultures eye had ever ſeen, there was a neceſſity to take up many things in reference thereunto upon no better credit ſometimes then common Report. One or two paſſages need a more particular excuſe, or at leaſt explication: As where it is ſaid, p. 2. that the firſt Colony was ſent hither *Anno*, 1606, The miſtake is eaſily helped, by minding the Reader that the Patent or Commiſſion was that year granted, when alſo Capt. Henery Challons was ſent over upon ſome further diſcovery of the Country, before the Adventurers would hazard a greater charge: ſoon after the departure of the ſaid Challons, the ſame year Sr. John Popham, one of the principal undertakers, ſent out another ſhip to ſecond him under the Command of Capt. Haman, Martin Prin of Brittow being Maſter, who not finding Challons (for he miſcaried in his deſign being ſeized by ſome Strangers in the way) yet re-

turn-

turning with good news, the next year they ſent out two ſhips with an hundred men, with Ordnance and other Proviſion, under the conduct of Capt. George Popham *& Capt.* Rawley Gilbert, *who built a Fort in ſome place about* Saga de hoch, *called* S. Georges Fort, *the ruines of which are remaining to this day, as ſome ſay. Probably other like miſtakes may be obſerved, in deſcribing the bounds and dimenſions of ſome of the Patents, & grants of land belonging to the other Colonies; but an Hiſtorian being no Prætorian Judge, his report cannot prejudice any peoples Juriſdiction, or perſons propriety.*

Further alſo where it is ſaid, p. 7. That the Indians had lived peaceably with the Engliſh here near forty years, ever ſince the *Pequod* Warr, *it is to be underſtood with reference to publick acts of Hoſtility, for particular miſchiefs have been committed by ſeveral Indians in ſome parts of the Country but the actors were not abetted therein by any of their Country-men: As at* Nantucket, *an Iſland to the eaſtward of* Cape Cod, *where in the end of the year* 1664. *ſome villanous Indians murthered ſome that ſuffered ſhipwrack upon that Iſland, yet juſtice was done upon two or three of the chief actors. In like manner within a few years after the* Pequod Warrs, *Mris.* Hutchinſon *was killed by the Indians near a Dutch Plantation; about which time ſome other inſolencies of like nature were acted by the Indians ſouthward, either upon long Iſland, or in ſome place within* New-haven *Colony. Alſo a murther was committed at* Farmington, *another at* Woburn, *by ſome Indians in their drunken humers, upon a maid-ſervant or two, who denied them drink. All which hinder not the truth of what is affirmed in the Narrative, ſuch murthers being too frequently committed in the moſt peaceable places in the world. Such errors as are the forementioned, being overlooked by the Candid Reader, it is preſumed, there will not be many other faults to be complained of, unleſs ſuch as are meerly Typographical, or elſe were occaſioned by the dropping in of particular paſſages, after the whole was drawn up, which I was willing to inſert, although it occaſioned the diſcourſe in ſome places, to be a little more confuſed then elſe would have been. If ever the matter require another edition, more acurateneſs may be obſerved. If thoſe into whoſe hand theſe ſhall happen to come, find any ſatisfaction about the occurrents, that have here fallen out, the Publiſher ſhall account his pains well beſtowed.*

To

To the Reverend Mr. *William Hubbard* on his moſt exact Hiſtory of *New-Englands Troubles.*

WHen thy rare Piece *unto my view once came,*
It made my Muſe *that erſt did ſmoke to flame:*
Raiſing my Fancy ſo ſublime, that I
That famous forked Mountain *did eſpie;*
Thence in an Extaſie *I ſoftly fell*
Down near unto the Helliconian Well,
Where Poetry, *in* Proſe, *made I did ſee*
By a Mercurian Brain, *which ſure was* Thee;
Such is thy modeſt Stile enrich'd with Sence,
Invention fine, faced with Eloquence:
Thy florid Language *quintly doth expreſs*
The Truth *of matter in a comely Dreſs;*
Couching the Sence in ſuch a pleaſing Strain
As makes the Readers *Heart to leap again:*
And ſweetly draws him like thoſe Lotteries
Which never miſs but always win the Prize:
But whither raves my Muſe? *what can be done*
By'm that augments the Sea, *or lights the* Sun?
Go on brave Worthy, *and let theſe* Eſſayes,
Like fair Aurora *uſher in the* Rayes
Of a Refulgent Sun *ariſing clear*
Hence to illuminate our Hemiſphere;
That th'after Ages *may extoll the* High-One
For's Loving kindneſs *to our little* Sion:
And may our Senatours *with due regard*
Theſe and thy future labours all reward;
Though not in full, yet ſuch incouragement,
As may in them be juſt, *to thee content;*
For th'preſent Age, *and thoſe that ſhall enſue,*
Will be perpetual Debtors *unto* You.
Fame ſhall with Honour *crown thee, and wee'l raiſe*
Thy laſting Monument *in* Groves of Bayes.
Heav'ns *bleſs thee in thy* Work, *and may ſucceſs*
Attend thee here, hereafter Happineſs.

J. S.

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To

This shot repeats the previous one, but with different lighting.

To the Reverend Mr. *William Hubbard* on his most exact Hiſtory of *New-Englands Troubles.*

WHen thy rare Piece *unto my view once came*
It made my Muſe *that erſt did ſmoke to flame:*
Raiſing my Fancy ſo ſublime, that I
That famous forked Mountain *did eſpie;*
Thence in an Extaſie *I ſoftly fell*
Down near unto the Helliconian Well:
Where Poetry, *in* Proſe, *made I did ſee*
By a Mercurian Brain, *which ſure was* Thee;
Such is thy modeſt Stile enrich'd with Sence,
Invention fine, faced with Eloquence:
Thy florid Language *quintly doth expreſs*
The Truth *of matter in a comely Dreſs;*
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Heav'ns *bleſs thee in thy* Work, *and may ſucceſs*
Attend thee here, hereafter Happineſs.

J. S.

UPON

The elaborate *Survey* of *New-Englands* Paſſions from the

NATIVES

By the impartial *Pen* of that worthy *Divine*

Mr. WILLIAM HUBBARD.

A *Countreys Thanks with Garlands ready lye*
To wreathe the Brows of your Divinity
Renowned Sir: to write the Churches Warre
In ancient times fell to the Prophets *ſhare*
New-Englands Chronicles *are to be had*
From Nathans *Pen, or Manuſcript of* Gad.
Purchaſe *wrote much,* Hacluyt *traverſed farr,*
Smith *and* Dutch John de Laet *famous are,*
Martyr, *with learn'd* Acoſta *thouſands too,*
Here's novelties and ſtile which all out-doe,
VVrote by exacter hand then ever took
Hiſtorians Pen *ſince* Europe *wee forſooke.*
I took your Muſe *for old* Columbus Ghoſt,
Who ſcrapt acquaintance with this weſtern Coaſt,
But in converſe ſome pages I might find
Then all Columbus Gemms *a brighter mind.*
Former Adventures did at beſt beguile
About theſe Natives Riſe (*obſcure as* Nile)
Their grand Apoſtle *writes of their return;*
Williams *their Language;* Hubbard *how they burn,*
Rob, kill and Roaſt, lead Captive, flay, blaſpheme;
Of Engliſh valour *too he makes his* Theme,
Whoſe tragical account may Chriſtned be
New-Englands Travels through the bloudy Sea.
Drake *gat renown by creeping round the old;*
To treat of this New World *our Author's bold.*

Names

Names uncouth which ne'r Minſhew *could reduce*
By's Polyglotton *to the vulgar uſe.*
Unheard of places like ſome New-Atlantis,
Before in fancy only, now Newlandis:
New found and ſubtle Stratagems of warre,
We can quaint Elton *and brave* Barriffe *ſpare;*
New Diſcipline and Charges of Command
Are cloath'd in Indian *by this* Engliſh hand.
Moxon *who drew two Globes, or whoſoere*
Muſt make a third, or elſe the old ones tear,
To find a Roome for thy new Map by which
Thy friends and Country all thou doſt enrich.

Gratitudinis ergò appoſuit

B. T.

The Printer *to the* Reader.

BY Reason of the Authors long, and neceſſary abſence from the Preſs, together with the difficulty of reading his hand, many faults have eſcaped in the Printing, either by miſtaking of words, or miſpointing of Sentences, which doe in ſome places not a little confound the Sense, which the Reader is deſired to correct before he begins to read.

PAg. 1. *l.* 9. *for* eight *r.* right. *pag.* 3 *l.* 18 *for* Northweſt *r.* moſt northerly place. *p.* 4. *l.* 15 *for* Council of *Plimouth, r.* of ſome Gentleman that had a grant of the Council of *Plimouth. p.* 5. *l.* 19. for *Pequod. r. Narrhaganſet. p.* 6. *l.* 19. *after* charge *r.* but. *p.* 10. *l.* 14. *after* him *r.* ſo. *p.* 15 *l.* 33. *leave out the firſt* that. *p.* 25. *l.* 4. *for* defence *r.* ſhelter. *p.* 27. *l* 7. *for* heads *r.* arms. *p.* 30. *l.* 14 *for* attended *r.* altered. *p.* 31. *l.* 4 *for* that *r.* their. *p.* 34 *l* 9. *for* houſes *r.* horſes. *p.* 43 *l.* 7 *for* being *r.* were *p.* 47. *l.* 4. *for* not *r.* now. *and leave out*, for the preſent. *l.* 17 *for* therefore being *r.* were. *p.* 48 *l.* 1. *leave out* to. *l* 14 *before* beſides, *r.* and, or further. *p.* 52. *l.* 8 *for* over *r.* upon. *p.* 54. *l.* 3 *r. Maſſachuſets* Regiment. *l ult for* there *r.* their. *p.* 55. *l.* 15. *for* from *r.* to. *l.* 27. *for* hoping *r.* hoped. *p.* 56 *l.* 5. *for* 1665 *r.* 1675. *p* 58. *l.* 8 *r. Jan* 7 *p.* 61 *l.* 1 *for* 2d *r.* or *for* the reſt *r.* that. *l.* 18 *after* cauſe *r.* which *p.* 63. *l* for 27 *r.* ten or twelve. *p* 81. *l.* 11. *after* truſted *r.* that deceived them. *l.* 29. *after* at *r.* that. *p* 104 *l.* 22. *for* on *Pocaſſet* ſide *r.* near *Plimouth.*

In the ſecond Part. p. 81. *between the ſeventh and eighth line, a whole line is caſually omitted in moſt of the Copyes viz.* As for predictions or Preſages of the preſent troubles. *p* 82 *l.* 29. *for* blinded *r.* blended. *p.* 83 *l* 24 *leave out* but. *l* 31 *r.* harraſſed. *p.* 84 *l*, 20. *r.* diſperſed *for* diſpoſed. *l.* 16. *after* Gentiles *put the Parentheſis. p.* 87. *l.* 4. *for* Stockain *r.* Stockam.

A NARRA-

A NARRATIVE OF THE TROUBLES *With the* Indians *in* NEW-ENGLAND,

From the first Planting thereof to the present time.

KNown unto God are all his works from the foundation of the world, though manifest to us, only by the events of time, that fruitful mother of all things, which in the former age did bring forth, at least did bring to light the knowledge of this western World, called *America*, that in all foregoing times and ages, lay hid in this obscure and remote Region, covered with a veyle of ignorance, and locked up from the knowledge of all the rest of the Inhabitants of the Earth. To whom the honour of its investigation doth of right more properly belong, is sufficiently declared by the History and Reports of such as were ey witnesses thereof, and not intended to be any part of the present disquisition. The most considerable part of all the North side of *America*, is called *New-England*. In the fertility of the Soyle, salubriousness of the Air, and many other commodious advantages, most resembling the Country from whence it borrowed its appellation. For the knowledge thereof the World is most beholding to the discoveries of the English, under the conduct of *Sebastian Cabbot* a famous Porteguez about the year 1497. though since much

perfected by the induſtry and travels of Captain *Gaſwold*, Captain *Hudſon*, Captain *Smith*, and others of the Engliſh Nation. *North-America* this poſthumous birth of time, is as to its nativity, of the ſame ſtanding with her two elder Siſters *Peru* and *Mexico*, yet was ſuffered to ly in its Swadling-clothes, one whole Century of years, nature having promiſed no ſuch Dowry of rich Mines of Silver and Gold to them that would eſpouſe her for their own, as ſhe did unto the other two, which poſſibly was the reaſon why ſhe was not ſo haſtily deflowred by her firſt diſcoverers, nor yet ſo early courted by any of the Princes of *Europe*, lying wholly neglected as it were, until a ſmall company of Planters, under the command of Captain *George Popham*, and Captain *Gilbert* were ſent over at the charge of Sir *John Popham* in the year 1606. to begin a Colony upon a Tract of Land about *Saga de hoch*, ſcituate on the ſouth ſide of the River of *Kennibeck* and about that called *Shipſcot River*, about twenty miles ſouth-Weſt from *Pemmaquid*, the moſt Northerly bound of all *New-England*. But that deſign within two years expiring with its firſt Founder, ſoon after ſome honourable perſons of the Weſt of *England*, commonly called the Counſel of *Plimouth*, being more certainly informed of ſeveral Navigable Rivers and commodious Havens, with other places fit either for Traffick or Planting, newly diſcovered by many skilful Navigators, obtained a Grant by Patent, under the great Seal from King *James* of bleſſed memory, of all that part of *North-America*, called *New-England*. From the 40 to the 48 *gr.* of North Latitude. From which Grand and Original Patent, all other Charters and Graunts of Land from *Pemmaquid* to *Delaware Bay*, along the Sea-coaſt, derive their Linage and Pedigree; thus was that vaſt tract of Land, after the year 1612. cantoned and parcelled out into many leſſer Diviſions and parcels, according as Adventurers preſented, which ſaid Graunts being founded upon uncertain, or falſe Deſcriptions, and Reports of ſome that Travelled thither, did many of them interfere one upon another, to the great diſturbance of the firſt Planters, and prejudice of the Proprietors themſelves, as is too well known by any that have had occaſion to ſtay never ſo little amongſt them, many of whom are yet ſurviving. For notwithſtanding the great charge and vaſt expences the firſt Adventurers were at, the firſt Proprietors of the whole *Province* of *Mayne* and others (reaching from the head of *Caſco Bay* North-eaſt to the mouth of *Paſcataqua River* about ſixty miles Weſtward) and the hopes they might have conceived of being the firſt Founders of *New-Colonies*, and of enlarging their Eſtates and Inheritances by thoſe new acquired poſſeſſions and Lordſhips, there was little profit reaped from thence,

thence after the rich fleeces of Beaver were gleaned away, nor any great improvement made of thoſe large portions of Lands, ſave the erecting of ſome few Cottages for Fiſhermen, and a few inconſiderable Buildings for the Planters, which were on thoſe occaſions drawn over the Sea, to ſettle upon the moſt northerly parts of *New-England*.

But whither it were by the imprudence of the firſt Adventurers, or the diſſoluteneſs of the perſons they ſent over to manage their Affairs, or whither want of faithfulneſs or skill to manage their truſt, they were by degrees in a manner quite deſerted almoſt of Laws and Government, and left to ſhift for themſelves, by which means at laſt they fell under the Juriſdiction of the *Maſſachuſets Colony*, not by Uſurpation, as is by great miſtake ſuggeſted to his *Majeſty*, but by neceſſity, and the earneſt deſire of the Planters themſelves; to accept of whom, thoſe of the *Maſſachuſets Colony* were the more eaſily induced; in that they apprehended the bounds of their own Patent, by a favourable Interpretation of the words deſcribing the Northern Line [Three miles beyond the moſt Northerly branch of Merimack River] do reach ſomewhat beyond *Pemmaquid*, the North-weſt limits of all *New-England*.

This was the firſt beginning of things in *New-England*, at which time they were not unlike the times of old, when the people of *Judah* were ſaid to be without a Teaching Prieſt, and without Law; and no wonder things were no more ſucceſſfully carried on.

In the Year 1620. a Company belonging to Mr. *Robinſons* Church at *Leyden* in *Holland*, although they had been courteouſly entertained by the *Dutch*, as Strangers ſojourning amongſt them, yet foreſeeing many inconveniencies like to increaſe, and that they could not ſo well provide for the good of their Poſterity, under the Government of a forreign Nation; they reſolved to intreat ſo much favour from their own Soveraign Prince King *James*, as to grant them liberty under the ſhelter of his Royal Authority, to place themſelves in ſome part of *New-England*, then newly diſcovered; wherefore having obtained ſome kind of Patent or Graunt, for ſome place about *Hudſons River*, they ſet ſayle from *Plimouth* in *September* for the Southern parts of *New-England*, but as they intended to bend their courſe thitherward, *per varios caſus, per tot diſcrimina rerum*; they were at laſt caſt upon a boſome of the South Cape of the *Maſſachuſets Bay*, called *Cape Cod*, about the 11*th* of *November*, from whence the Winter ſo faſt approaching, they had no opportunity to remove; and finding ſome incouragement from the hopefulneſs of the Soyle, and courteſie of the Heathen, they reſolved there to make their abode for the future, which they did, laying the foundation of a new Co-

lony, which from the remembrance of the laſt Town in *England* they ſailed from, they called *New-Plimouth*; containing no very conſiderable Tract of Land, ſcarce extending an hundred miles in length through the whole Cape, and ſcarce half ſo much in breadth where it is broadeſt. The firſt Founders of that Colony aiming more at Religion then Earthly Poſſeſſions, aſpiring not to any large dimenſion of Land, in their ſetling upon thoſe Coaſts.

At *Weymouth* alſo was a Plantation begun by Mr. *Weſton* in the year 1622. but it came to little.

The North and South Border of the *Maſſachuſets Bay* being thus planted, the middle part was the more eaſie to be filled up, which thus was brought about. Some Gentlemen and others, obſerving how it fared with thoſe of *New-Plimouth*, were deſiring upon the like ground to make the ſame attempt for themſelves, wherefore having by a conſiderable ſum of money purchaſed of the Councell of *Plimouth*, all their right and intereſt in a Plantation there begun in the *Maſſachuſets Bay*, and having attained a confirmation thereof by Patent from King *Charls* of famous memory, in the year 1628, they ſent over a Governour with ſeveral perſons to lay ſome foundation of an other Colony in the *Maſſachuſets Bay*: and in the year 1630, more of the perſons intereſted in the ſaid *Patent* (thence commonly called *Patentees*) with ſeveral other perſons, intending to venture their lives and all with them, tranſported themſelves and their Families into the ſaid *Maſſachuſets*, who did in a ſhort ſpace of time by the acceſſion of many hundreds, who every year flocked after them, make ſuch increaſe, that in the ſpace of five or ſix years, there were twenty conſiderable Towns built and peopled, and many of the Towns firſt planted, became ſo filled with Inhabitants, that like Swarms of Bees they were ready to ſwarm, not only into new Plantations, but into new Colonies, inſomuch that in the year 1635 a new Colony began to be planted upon *Connecticut* River, partly by combination amongſt themſelves, removing from ſome Towns about the *Maſſachuſets Bay*, and partly by the intereſt of a Patent purchaſed of that honourable Gentleman Mr. *Fennick*, Agent for the Lord *Sey*, and Lord *Brook*, the Lords Proprietors of the ſaid River *Connecticut*, at the mouth of which River they had built a Fort, (called after their own titles *Sey-Brook Fort*) commanding the paſſage of the ſaid River. Yea ſuch was the Confluence of people making over into thoſe parts, that in the year 1637 a fourth Colony began to be planted, bearing the name of *Newhaven* from the firſt Town erected therein, ſeated near the midway betwixt *Hudſons River* and that of *Connecticot*. The Sea coaſt from the

the pitch of *Cape Cod* to the mouth of *Connecticot River*, inhabited by ſeveral nations of Indians, *Wompanoogs* (the firſt Authors of the preſent Rebellion) *Narhaganſets*, *Pequods*, *Mohegins*, as the more inland part of the Country by the *Nipnets* (a general name for all inland Indians betwixt the *Maſſachuſets* and *Connecticut River*) The Sea-coaſt South-weſt from *Plimouth* was firſt poſſeſſed by ſome diſcontented with the Goverment of the *Maſſachuſets* Colony, from which ſome being exiled, others of their friends accompanying of them, ſetled themſelves upon a fair Iſland to the South-weſt of *Cape Cod*, now called *Road-Iſland*, others ſetled upon the Mayn, at a place called *Providence*, and ſo by degrees planting toward *Narrhaganſet Bay*, made another Plantation called *Warwick*, which places are ſince by Patent conferred upon the Inhabitants of *Road-Iſland*; the reſt of the Country from *Pequod River* to the River of *Connecticot*, falling within the bounds of *Connecticot Colony* by Patent alſo, ſince confirmed to the ſaid Colony. Things had been very proſperouſly and ſucceſſfully carried on in all the foreſaid Colonyes and Juriſdictions, from the year 1620, to the year 1636, at which time the *Pequod* Indians, the moſt warlike and fierce of all the Indians in that part of the Country, who had made all the reſt of the Indians to ſtand in awe, having committed many barbarous outrages upon their neighbour Indians, both *Narhaganſets* on the eaſt ſide, and *Mohegins* on the weſt ſide of them: and alſo upon the Engliſh and Dutch, as they came occaſionally to traffick with them: and in the year 1634, having barbarouſly murthered Capt. Stone and Capt. Norton, as they were trading with them. Afterwards one *Oldham* coming amongſt them upon the like account. In like manner having committed ſeveral outrages upon the planters about *Connecticut River*, the Inhabitants of all the Colonyes, unanimouſly ſetting upon them in the beginning of the year 1637, they were eaſily ſuppreſſed, about 700 of them deſtroyed, the reſt either fled to the *Mohawkes*, by whom they were all cut off that eſcaped, or elſe ſheltring themſelves under the *Narhaganſets* & *Mohegins* their neighbours, they were by the power of the Engliſh all ſubjected to one of thoſe two Nations of the Indians. *Miantonimoh* the chief Sachem or Lord of the *Narhaganſets*, expecting to be ſole Lord and Ruler over all the Indians, after the *Pequods* were ſubdued, began to quarrell with the *Mohegins* upon the account of Soveraignty, notwithſtanding a firm Agreement was made betwixt the Engliſh and the ſaid *Narhaganſets* in the year 1637, when they had helped to deſtroy the *Pequods*, and alſo notwithſtanding the tripartite League between the ſaid *Narhaganſets*, the *Mohegins*, and the Engliſh at *Hartford* (the chief Town of *Connecti-*

out Colony) made in the year 1638, wherein the ſaid Indians were ſolemnly ingaged not to quarrel either with the Mohegins, or any other Indians, untill they had firſt asked the advice of the Engliſh, to whoſe determination they had likewiſe obliged themſelves to ſtand, in all following Differences among them. Yet did theſe ambitious *Narhaganſets* ſpecially their chief Leader *Miantonimoh*, bare ſuch an inveterate hatred againſt the *Mohegins*, that they were every year picking quarrels with them. The *Mohegins* on the other ſide though not ſo numerous, yet a more warlike people and more politick, alwayes made their recourſe to the Engliſh, complaining of the inſolencies of the *Narhaganſets*, contrary to their League, ſo as they would hardly be kept from making open warre againſt them, when they ſaw all other attempts to kill and deſtroy *Uncas* the *Mohegin* Sachem, by Treachery, poyſon, & Sorcery prove ineffectual. Inſomuch that at laſt the malice of *Miantonimoh* and his *Narrhaganſets* grew to that height, that they began to plot againſt the Engliſh themſelves, for defending of *Uncas*. But it being diſcovered by *Uncas* and ſome of his men to the Engliſh; *Miantonimoh* was ſent for by the *Maſſachuſets* Court to come to *Boſton*, when he came there, he would have denyed thoſe things laid to his charge, he was convicted by one of his own fellowers, and inſtead of ſtanding to his promiſe, to deliver him to the *Mohegin* Sachem whoſe Subject he was, going homeward he cut off his head, to prevent his telling more tales. And with great diſcontent as he was going home ſaid he would come no more at *Boſton*, wherein he proved a truer prophet then he himſelf believed when he uttered the words, for in the end of the ſame year 1643 making war upon *Uncas*, he was taken priſoner by him, and ſoon after by the advice of the Commiſſioners of the four Colonyes, (at that time united firmly into a League offenſive and defenſive, on which account they were after that time called the united Colonyes of *New England*: though ſince that time they are reduced but to three Colonyes; that of *New-haven* and *Connetticot* by the laſt Patent being conjoyned in one) his head was cut off by *Uncas*, it being juſtly feared, that there would never be any firm peace, either betwixt the Engliſh and the *Narhaganſets*, or betwixt the *Narhaganſets* and the *Mohegins*, while *Miantonimoh* was left alive: however the *Narhaganſets* have ever ſince that time borne an implacable malice againſt *Uncas*, and all the *Mohegins*, and for their ſakes ſecretly againſt the Engliſh, ſo far as they durſt diſcover it.

In the years 1645, and 1646. they grew ſo inſolent, that the Commiſſioners of the united Colonyes were compelled to raiſe Forces to go againſt them, but when they perceived that

the

the Engliſh were in good earneſt, they began to be afraid, and ſued for peace, and ſubmitted to pay a tribute to ſatisfy for the charge of preparation for the warr, but were alwayes very backward to make payment until the Engliſh were forced to demand it by new Forces, ſo that it appeared they were unwillingly willing to hold any friendly correſpondence with the Engliſh, yet durſt they never make any open attempt upon them, untill the preſent Rebellion, where in that they had no ſmall hand, is too too evident, notwithſtanding all their pretences to the contrary, as will appear in the ſequell of this Hiſtory.

Thus it is apparent upon what Terms the Engliſh ſtood with the *Narhaganſets*, ever ſince the cutting off *Miantonimoh*, their chief Sachems head by *Uncas*, it being done from the advice and Counſell of the Engliſh *Anno* 1643. As for the reſt of the Indians, ever ſince the ſuppreſſing of the *Pequods* in the year 1637 untill the year 1675, there was alwayes in appearance amity and good correſpondence on all ſides, ſcarce an Engliſh man was ever known to be aſſaulted or hurt by any of them, until after the year 1671, when the ſon of one *Matoonas*, who as was ſuppoſed, being vexed in his mind that the deſign againſt the Engliſh, intended to begin 1671 did not take place, out of meer malice and ſpight againſt them, ſlew an Engliſh man travelling along the Road, the ſaid *Matoonas* being a *Nipnet* Indian, which *Nipnets* were under the command of the Sachem of *Mount-hope* the Author of all the preſent miſchiefs. Upon a due enquiry into all preceding tranſactions between the Indians and the Engliſh, from their firſt ſetling in theſe coaſts, there will appear no ground of quarrell that any of them had againſt the Engliſh, nor any appearance of provocation upon one account or other, for when *Plimouth* Colony was firſt planted, within three moneths after their firſt landing, *March.* 16. 1620. *Maſſaſoit* the chief Sachem of all that ſide of the Country repaired to the Engliſh at *Plimouth*, and entred into a ſolemn League upon ſundry Articles printed in *N.E. Memoriall* 1669. *p.* 24. the words are as followeth.

1. *THat neither he, nor any of his ſhould injure or doe hurt to any of their people.*

2. *That if any of his did any hurt to any of theirs, he ſhould ſend the Offender that they might puniſh him.*

3. *That if any thing were taken away from any of theirs, he ſhould cauſe it to be reſtored; and they ſhould doe the like to his.*

4. *That if any did unjuſtly warr againſt him, they ſhould aid him, and if any did warr againſt them, he ſhould aid them.*

5. *That*

5. *That he ſhould ſend to his neighbour Confederates, to certifie them of this, that they might not wrong e them, but might be likewiſe compriſed in theſe Conditions of Peace.*

6. *That when his Men came to them upon any occaſion, they ſhould leave their Arms* (which were then Bows and Arrows) *behind them.*

7. Laſtly, *that ſo doing, their Soveraign Lord King* James *would eſteem him as his Friend and Ally.*

The which League the ſame Sachim, *Sept.* 25. 1650. a little before his death, coming with his eldeſt Son, afterward called *Alexander*, did renew with the Engliſh at the Court of *Plimouth*, for himſelf and his Son, and their Heirs and Succeſſors: and after that he came to Mr. *Browns*, that lived not far from *Mount Hope*, bringing his two Sons, *Alexander* and *Philip* with him, deſiring that there might be Love and Amity after his death, between his Sons and them, as there had been betwixt himſelf and them in former times: yet it is very remarkable, that this *Maſſaſoit*, called alſo *Wooſamequen* (how much ſoever he affected the Engliſh, yet) was never in the leaſt degree any wayes well affected to the Religion of the Engliſh, but would in his laſt Treaty with his Neighbours at *Plimouth* when they were with him about purchaſing ſome Land at *Swanzy*, have had them engaged never to attempt to draw away any of his People from their old Pagan Superſtition, and Deviliſh Idolatry, to the Chriſtian Religion, and did much inſiſt upon it till he ſaw the Engliſh were reſolved never to make any Treaty with him more upon that account, which when he diſcerned, he did not further urge it: but that was a bad Omen that notwithſtanding what ever his humanity were to the Engliſh, as they were Strangers) (for indeed they had repayed his former kindneſs to them, by protecting him afterwards againſt the inſolencies of the *Narrhaganſets*) he manifeſted no ſmall diſplacency of Spirit againſt them, as they were Chriſtians: which ſtrain was evident more in his Son that ſucceeded him, and all his People, in ſo much that ſome diſcerning perſons of that Juriſdiction have feared that that Nation of Indians would all be rooted out, as is ſince come to paſs. The like may be obſerved concerning the *Narrhaganſets*, who were alwayes more civil and courteous to the Engliſh then any of the other Indians, yet never as yet received the leaſt tincture of Chriſtian Religion, but have in a manner run the ſame fate with the reſt of their Neighbours of *Mount Hope*, there being very few of them now left ſtanding. Nor is it unworthy the Relation, what a perſon of quality amongſt us hath of late affirmed, one being much converſant with the Indians about *Merimack River*, being *Anno.* 1660.

invited

invited by ſome Sagamores or Sachims to a great Dance (which ſolemnities are the times they make uſe of to tell their ſtories, and convey the knowledge of fore paſt and moſt memorable things to Poſterity) *Paſſaconaway*, the great Sachim of that part of the Country, intending at that time to make his laſt and farwel ſpeech to his Children and People, that were then all gathered together, to whom he addreſſed himſelf in this manner:

I am now going the way of all Fleſh, or ready to dy, and not likely to ſee you ever met together any more; I will now leave this word of Counſel with you, that you take heed how you quarrel with the Engliſh, for though you may do them much miſchief; yet aſſuredly you will all be deſtroyed, and rooted off the Earth if you do: for, ſaid he, *I was as much an Enemy to the Engliſh, at their firſt coming into theſe parts, as any one whatſoever, and did try all ways and means poſſible to have deſtroyed them, at leaſt to have prevented them ſitting down here, but I could no way effect it* (*it is to be noted that this* Paſſaconaway *was the moſt noted* Pawaw *and* Sorcerer *of all the Country*) *therefore I adviſe you never to contend with the Engliſh, nor make war with them: And accordingly his eldeſt Son* Wonnalancet *by name, as ſoon as he perceived that the Indians were up in Arms, he withdrew himſelf into ſome remote place, that he might not be hurt by the Engliſh, or the Enemies, or be in danger by them.*

This paſſage was thought fit to be inſerted here, it having ſo near an agreement with the former, intimating ſome ſecret awe of God upon the hearts of ſome of the principal amongſt them, that they durſt not hurt the Engliſh, although they bare no good affection to their Religion, wherein they ſeem not a little to imitate *Balaam*, who whatever he uttered, when he was under the awful power of divine illumination, yet when left to himſelf, was as bad an Enemy to the Iſrael of God as ever before.

But to return, whence there hath been this Digreſſion:

After the death of this *Wooſamequen* or *Maſſaſoit*, his eldeſt Son ſucceeded him about twenty years ſince, *Alexander* by name, who notwithſtanding the League he had entred into with the Engliſh, together with his Father, in the year 1639. had neither affection to the Engliſhmens perſons, nor yet to their Religion, but had been plotting with the *Narhaganſets*, to riſe againſt the Engliſh; of which the Governour and Council of *Plimouth* being informed, they preſently ſent for him to bring him to the Court, the perſon to whom that ſervice was committed, was a prudent and reſolute Gentleman, the preſent Governour of the ſaid Colony, who was neither afraid of Danger, nor yet willing to delay in a

matter of that moment, he forthwith taking eight or ten ſtout men with him well armed, intended to have gone to the ſaid *Alexanders* dwelling, diſtant at leaſt forty miles from the Governours houſe, but by a good providence, he found him whom he went to ſeek at an Hunting-Houſe, within ſix miles of the Engliſh Towns, where the ſaid *Alexander* with about eighty men were newly come in from Hunting, and had left their Guns without doors, which Major *Winſlow* with his ſmall company wiſely ſeized, and conveyed away, and then went into the Wigwam, and demanded *Alexander* to go along with him before the Governour, at which meſſage he was much appalld, but being told by the undaunted Meſſenger, that if he ſtird or refuſed to go he was a dead man; he was by one of his chief Counſellors, in whoſe advice he moſt confided, perſwaded to go along to the Governours houſe, but ſuch was the pride and height of his Spirit, that the very ſurprizal of him, raiſed his Choler and indignation, that it put him into a Feaver, which notwithſtanding all poſſible means that could be uſed, ſeemed Mortal; whereupon intreating thoſe that held him Priſoner, that he might have liberty to return home, promiſing to return again if he recovered, and to ſend his Son as Hoſtage till he could ſo do, on that conſideration he was fairly diſmiſſed, but dyed before he got half way home: Here let it be obſerved, that although ſome have taken up falſe Reports, as if the Engliſh had compelled him to go further or faſter then he was able, and ſo fell into a Feaver, or as if he were not well uſed by the Phyſitian that looked to him, while he was with the Engliſh, all which are notoriouſly falſe; nor is it to be imagined that a perſon of ſo noble a diſpoſition as is that Gentleman (at that time imployed to bring him) ſhould himſelf, or ſuffer any elſe to be uncivil to a perſon allied to them, by his own, as well as his Fathers League as the ſaid *Philip* alſo was; nor was any thing of that nature ever objected to the Engliſh of *Plimouth*, by the ſaid *Alexanders Brother*, by name *Philip*, commonly for his ambitious and haughty Spirit nicknamed *King-Philip*, when he came in the year 1662. in his own perſon with *Sauſaman* his Secretary and chief Counſellor to renew the former league that had been between his Predeceſſors and the Engliſh of *Plimouth*: but, there was as much correſpondence betwixt them for the next ſeven years, as ever had been in any former times, what can be imagined therefore, beſides the inſtigation of Satan, that either envied at the proſperity of the Church of God here feared, or elſe fearing leſt the power of the Lord Jeſus, that had overthrown his Kingdome in other parts of the World, ſhould do the like here, and ſo the ſtone taken out of the Mountain without hands, ſhould become a great Mountain it ſelf, and fill the

whole

whole earth, no cauſe of provocation being given by the Engliſh; For once before this, in the year 1671. the Devill, who was a Murderer from the beginning, had ſo filled the heart of this ſalvage Miſcreant with envy and malice againſt the Engliſh, that he was ready to break out into open war againſt the Inhabitants of *Plimouth*, pretending ſome petite injuryes done him in his planting land, but when the matter of controverſie came to be heard before diverſe of the *Maſſachuſets Colony*, yea when he himſelf came to *Boſton*, as it were referring his caſe to the Judgment of that Colony, nothing of that nature could be made to appear, whereupon in way of ſubmiſſion he was of neceſſity by that evident conviction forced to acknowledge that it was the naughtineſs of his own heart, that put him upon that Rebellion, and nothing of any provocation from the Engliſh, and to a Confeſſion of this nature, with a ſolemn renewal of his Covenant, declaring his deſire, that this his Covenant might reſide to the world againſt him, if ever he ſhould prove unfaithfull to thoſe of *Plimouth*, or any other of the English Colonyes therein, himſelf with his chief Counſellors ſubſcribed in the preſence of ſome Meſſengers ſent on purpoſe to hear the difference between *Plimouth* and the ſaid *Philip*. But for further ſatisfaction of the Reader, the ſaid Agreement and Submiſſion ſhall here be publiſhed.

Taunton, April 10th. 1671.

WHereas my Father, my Brother and myſelf have formerly ſubmitted our ſelves and our People unto the Kings Majeſty of England, and to this Colony of New-Plimouth, *by ſolemn Covenant under our hand; but I having of late through my indiſcretion, and the naughtineſs of my heart violated and broken this my Covenant with my friends, by taking up Armes, with evill intent againſt them, and that groundleſly; I being now deeply ſenſible of my unfaithfullneſs and folly, do deſire at this time ſolemnly to renew my Covenant with my ancient Friends, and my Fathers Friends above mentioned, and do deſire this may teſtifie to the world againſt me if ever I ſhall again fail in my Faithfulneſs towards them (that I have now and at all times found ſo kind to me) or any other of the Engliſh Colonyes, and as a real pledge of my true intentions for the future to be faithfull and friendly, I do freely engage to bring up unto the Governour of* New-Plimouth, *all my*

Engliſh Armes, to be kept by them for their ſecurity, ſo long as they ſhall ſee reaſon. For true performance of the premiſes I have hereunto ſet my hand together with the reſt of my Counſel.

In preſence of
William Davis
William Hudſon.
Thomas Bratle.

The Mark of *P. Philip*
chief Sachem of *Pocanoket*
The Mark of *V. Tavoſer*
The Mark of *m* Capt. *Wiſpoſke*
The Mark of *T. Woonkaponchunt.*
The Mark of 8 *Nimrod.*

TO which for the further clearing the Juſtice of the preſent war, the Reſult of the debate o the Commiſſioners of the united Colonyes about the matter of the Warre ſhall here be inſerted.

At a Meeting of the Commiſſioners of the united Colonyes held at *Boſton, September 9th.* 1675.

WE having received from the Commiſſioners of Plimouth *a Narrative, ſhewing the Riſe and ſeveral ſteps of that Colony, as to the preſent Warre with the Indians, which had its beginning there, and its progreſs into the* Maſſachuſets, *by their inſolencies and outrages, murthering many perſons, and burning their Houſes in ſundry Plantations in both Colonies. And having duly conſidered the ſame, doe declare, that the ſaid War doth appear to be both juſt and neceſſary, and its firſt Riſe only a defenſive Warre. And therefore we do agree and conclude that it ought to be joyntly proſecuted by all the united Colonies, and the Charges thereof to be borne and paid as is agreed in the Articles of Confederation.*

John Winthrop.
James Richards.

Thomas Danforth.
William Stoughton.
Joſiah Winſlow.
Thomas Hinckley.

Yet whatever his ſubmiſſion was before, or his ſubjecting himſelf and his people to our King, or his ingagement to pay a ſum of money in part of the Charges then occaſioned by him (nor have the Engliſh in or about *Plimouth*, ſince, or before that time been any wayes injurious unto him, or any of his people) all which are fully declared in a Narrative given by the Commiſſioners of the Colony of *Plimouth*, wherein they alſo ſignify that the ſettlement and iſſue of the former controver-

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fie between *Philip* and them, was obtained and made (principally) by the mediation, and interposed advice and counsell of the other two confederate Colonyes, and also in a letter under the Governours hand, in these words, ---- *I think I can clearly say, that before these present troubles broke out, the English did not possess one foot of Land in this* Colony, *but what was fairly obtained by honest purchase of the Indian Proprietors: Nay, because some of our people are of a covetous dispositon, and the Indians are in their Streights easily prevailed with to part with their Lands, we first made a Law, that none should purchase or receive of gift any Land of the Indians without the knowledge and allowance of our Court, and penalty of a Fine, five pound per Acre, for all that should be so bought or obtained. And lest yet they should be streightned, we Ordered that* Mount-Hope, Pocasset *and several other Necks of the best land in the Colony (because most suitable and convenient for them, should never be bought out of their hands or else they would have sold them long since. And our neighbours at* Rehoboth *and* Swanzy *although they bought their Lands fairly of this* Philip *and his Father and Brother, yet because of their vicinity, that they might not trespass upon the Indians, did at their own cost set up a very substantial Fence quite cross that great Neck between the English and the Indians, and payed due damage if at any time any unruly horse or other beasts brake in and trespassed. And for diverse years last past (that all occasion of offence in that respect might be prevented) the English agreed with* Philip *and his, for a certain sum yearly to maintain the said Fence, and secure themselves. And if at any time they have brought Complaints before us, they have had Justice impartial and speedily, so that our own people have frequently complained, that we erred on the other hand in shewing them over much favour.*

Marshfield, May 1. 1676. Jos. Winslow.

Yet did this treacherous and perfidious Caitiffe still harbour the same or more mischievous thoughts against the English then ever before, and hath been since that time plotting with all the Indians round about to make a general insurrection against the English in all the Colonyes, which as some prisoners lately brought in have confessed, should have been put in execution at once, by all the Indians rising as one man, against all those plantations of English, which were next them. The *Narrhaganſets* having promised, as was confessed to rise with 4 thousand fighting men in the Spring of this present year, 1676. But by the occasion hereafter to be mentioned about *Sanſawan*, *Philip* was neer fitted for the

the ſafety of his own life to b gin his Rebellion the year before, when the Deſign was not fully ripe. Yet ſome are ready to think, that if his own life had not now been in jeopardy by the guilt of the foreſaid Murther of *Sauſaman*, his heart might have failed him, when it ſhould have come to be put in execution, as it did before in the year 1671. which made one of his Captains, of far better Courage and reſolution then himſelf, when he ſaw his cowardly temper and diſpoſition, fling down his Armes, calling him *white Liver'd Curre*, or to that purpoſe, and ſaying, that he would never own him again, or fight under him; and from that time hath turned to the Engliſh, and hath continued to this day a faithfull and reſolute Souldier in their quarrel.

That the Indians had a Conſpiracy amongſt themſelves to riſe againſt the Engliſh, is confirmed by ſome of the Indians about *Hadly*, although the plot was not come to maturity when *Philip* began, the ſpecial providence of God therein overruling the Contrivers: For, when the beginning of the troubles firſt was reported from *Mount-Hope*, many of the Indians were in a kind of a Maze, not knowing well what to doe; ſometimes ready to ſtand for the Engliſh, as formerly they had been wont to doe, ſometimes inclining to ſtrike in with *Philip* (which at the laſt they generally did) which if it had been foreſeen, much of that miſchief might have been prevented that fell out in ſeveral places, more by perfidious and treacherous dealing then any other wayes; the Engliſh never imagining that after ſo many obliging kindneſſes received from them by the Indians, beſides their many engagements and proteſtations of friendſhip, as formerly, they would have been ſo ungratefull, perfideouſly falſe and cruel as they have ſince proved.

The occaſion of *Philips* ſo ſudden taking up armes the laſt year was this, There was one *John Sauſaman* a very cunning and plauſible Indian well skilled in the Engliſh language, and bred up in the profeſſion of Chriſtian Religion, imployed as a Schoolmaſter at *Natick*, the Indian Town, who upon ſome miſdemeanour fled from his place to *Philip*, by whom he was entertained in the room and office of a Secretary, and his chief Counſellor, whome he truſted with all his affairs and ſecret counſels. But afterwards, whither upon the ſting of his own Conſcience, or by the frequent Sollicitations of Mr. *Eliot*, that had known him from a childe, and inſtructed him in the principles of our Religion, who was often laying before him the heinous ſin of his apoſtacy, and returning back to his old vomit, he was at laſt prevailed with to forſake *Philip*, and return back to the Chriſtian Indians at *Natick*, where he was baptized, manifeſting publick Repentance for all his former offences,

and made a ſerious Profeſſion of the Chriſtian Religion: and did apply himſelf to Preach to the Indians, wherein he was better gifted then any other of the Indian Nation, ſo as he was obſerved to conforme more to the Engliſh manners then any other Indian: yet having occaſion to go up with ſome others of his Country men to Namasket; whither for the advantage of Fiſhing, or ſome ſuch occaſion, it matters not; being there not far from *Philips Country*, he had occaſion to be much in the Company of *Philips Indians*, and of *Philip* himſelf: by which means he diſcerned by ſeveral circumſtances, that the Indians were plotting anew againſt us; the which out of faithfulneſs to the *Engliſh*, the ſaid *Sauſaman* informed the Governour of, adding alſo, that if it were known that he revealed it, he knew they would preſently kill him. There appearing ſo many concurrent teſtimonies from others, making it the more probable, that there was a certain truth in the information, ſome inquiry was made into the buſineſs, by examining *Philip* himſelf, & ſeveral of his Indians, who although they would own nothing, yet could not free themſelves from juſt ſuſpicion; *Philip* therefore ſoon after contrived the ſaid *Sauſamans* death, which was ſtrangely diſcovered; notwithſtanding it was ſo cunningly effected, for they that murdered him met him upon the Ice, on a great Pond, and preſently after they had knocked him down, put him under the Ice, yet leaving his Gun and his Hat upon the Ice, that it might be thought he fell in accidentally through the Ice and was drowned: but being miſſed by his friends, who finding his Hat and his Gun, they were thereby led to the place, where his body was found under the Ice: when they took him up to bury him, ſome of his friends, ſpecially one *David* obſerved ſome bruiſes about his Head, which made them ſuſpect he was firſt knocked down, before he was put into the water, however, they buried him near about the place where he was found, without making any further inquiry at preſent: nevertheleſs *David* his friend, reported theſe things to ſome Engliſh at Taunton (a Town not far from *Namasket*) it occaſioned the Governour to inquire further into the buſineſs, wiſely conſidering, that as *Sauſaman* had told him, that if it were known, that he had revealed any of their plots, they would murder him for his pains: wherefore by ſpecial Warrant the body of *Sauſaman* being digged again out of his Grave, it was very apparent that he had been killed and not drowned. And by a ſtrange providence, an Indian was found, that by accident ſtanding unſeen upon a Hill, had ſeen them murdering the ſaid *Sauſaman*, but durſt never reveal it for fear of loſing his own life likewiſe, until he was called to the Court at *Plimouth*, or before the Governour, where he plainly

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confeſſed what he had ſeen. The Murderers being apprehended, were convicted by his undeniable Teſtimony, and other remarkable circumſtances, and ſo were all put to death, being but three in number, the laſt of them confeſſed immediately before his death, that his Father (one of the Councellers and ſpecial Friends of *Philip*) was one of the two that murdered *Sauſaman*, himſelf only looking on. This was done at *Plimouth Court*, held in *June* 1675. inſomuch that *Philip* apprehending the danger his own head was in next, never uſed any further means to clear himſelf from what was like to be laid to his charge, either about his plotting againſt the Engliſh, nor yet about *Sauſamans* death: but by keeping his men continually about him in Arms, and gathering what Strangers he could to joyn with him, marching up and down conſtantly in Arms, both all the while the Court ſat, as well as afterwards; the Engliſh of *Plimouth* hearing of all this, yet took no further notice, then only to order a Military Watch in all the adjacent Towns, hoping that *Philip* finding himſelf not likely to be Arraigned by Order of the ſaid Court, the preſent Cloud might blow over, as ſome others of like nature had done before; but in concluſion, the matter proved otherwiſe, for *Philip* finding his Strength daily increaſing, by the flocking of Neighbour-Indians unto him, and ſending over their Wives and Children to the *Narhaganſets* for ſecurity (as they uſe to do when they intend War with any of their Enemies) Immediately they began to Alarm the Engliſh at *Swanzy* (the next Town to *Philips* Country) as it were daring the Engliſh to begin, at laſt their inſolencies grew to ſuch an height, that they began not only to uſe threatning words to the Engliſh, but alſo to kill their Cattle and rifle their houſes; whereat an Engliſh-man was ſo provoked, that he let fly a Gun at an Indian, but did only wound, not kill him, whereupon the Indians immediately began to kill all the *Engliſh* they could, ſo as on the 24*th.* of *June* 1675. was the Alarm of War firſt ſounded in *Plimouth Colony*, when eight or nine of the *Engliſh* were ſlain in and about *Swanzy*: They firſt making a ſhot at a company of *Engliſh* as they returned from the Aſſembly where they were met in way of Humiliation that day, whereby they killed one and wounded others, and then likewiſe at the ſame time, they ſlew two Men on the High-way, ſent to call a Surgeon, and barbarouſly the ſame day murdered ſix men in and about a dwelling Houſe in an other part of the Town, all which outrages were committed ſo ſuddenly, that the *Engliſh* had no time to make any reſiſtance: For on the 14*th.* of the ſame Month, beſides endeavours uſed by Mr. *Brown* of *Swanzy* one of the *Magiſtrates* of *Plimouth* Juriſdiction, an amicable Letter was ſent from the Council of *Plimouth* to *Philip* ſhewing

ſhewing their diſlike of his practiſes, and adviſing him to diſmiſs his ſtrange Indians, and not ſuffer himſelf to be abuſed by falſe Reports, concerning them that intended him no hurt, but no anſwer could be obtained, otherwiſe then threatning of War, which it was hoped might have been prevented, as heretofore it had been, when things ſeemed to look with as bad face as then they did. However the Governour and Council of *Plimouth*, underſtanding that *Philip* continued in his reſolution, & manifeſted no inclination to peace, they immediately ſent up what Forces they could to ſecure the Towns thereabouts, and make reſiſtance as occaſion might be, and alſo diſpatched away Meſſengers to the *Maſſachuſets* Governour and Council, letting them know the ſtate of things about *Mount-Hope*: and deſiring their ſpeedy aſſiſtance: upon which care was immediately taken with all expedition to ſend ſuch ſupplyes as were deſired: But in the mean time two Meſſengers were diſpatched to *Philip*, to try whether he could not be diverted from his bloudy enterprize, ſo to have prevented the miſchief ſince fallen out, hoping, that as once before, *viz.* *Anno* 1671. by their mediation, a ſtop was put to the like Tragedy; ſo the preſent warre might by the ſame meanes have been now turned aſide: For in the ſaid year *Philip* had firmly engaged himſelf, when he was at *Boſton*, not to quarrel with *Plimouth* untill he had firſt addreſſed himſelf to the *Maſſachuſets* for advice and approbation: But the two Meſſengers aforeſaid, finding the men ſlain in the Roade *June* 24. as they were going for the Surgeon, apprehended it not ſafe to proceed any further, conſidering alſo, that a peace now could not honourably be concluded after ſuch barbarous outrages committed upon ſome of the neighbour Colony: Wherefore returning with all ſpeed to *Boſton*, the *Maſſachuſet* Forces were diſpatched away with all immaginable haſt, as the exigent of the matter did require, ſome of them being then upon, or ready for their March, the reſt were ordered to follow after, as they could be raiſed. The ſending forth of which, becauſe it was the firſt engagement in any warlike preparations againſt the Indians, ſhall be more particularly declared.

On the 26*th.* of *June* a Foot-Company under Capt. *Daniel Henchman*, with a Troop under Capt. *Thomas Prentice*, were ſent out of *Boſton* toward *Mount-Hope*; it being late in the afternoon before they began to march, the central Eclipſe of the Moon in *Capric.* hapned in the evening before they came up to *Naponſet River*, about twenty miles from *Boſton*, which occaſioned them to make an halt, for a little repaſt, till the moon recovered her light again. Some melancholy Fancyes would not be perſwaded, but that the Eclipſe falling out at that inſtant of time,

was ominous, conceiving alſo that in the centre of the Moon they diſcerned an unuſual black ſpot, not a little reſembling the ſcalp of an *Indian*: As ſome others not long before, imagined they ſaw the form of an *Indian Bow*, accounting that likewiſe ominous (although the miſchief following was done by Guns, not by Bows) both the one and the other, might rather have thought of what *Marcus Craſſus* the *Roman General*, going forth with an Army againſt the *Parthians*, once wiſely replied to a private Souldier, that would have diſſwaded him from marching that time, becauſe of an Eclipſe of the Moon in *Capricorn* [*That he was more afraid of Sagitarius then of Capricornus*] meaning the Arrows of the *Parthians* (accounted very good Archers) from whom as things then fell out, was his greateſt danger. But after the Moon had waded through the dark ſhadow of the Earth, and borrowed her Light again, by the help thereof, the two Companies marched on toward *Woodcocks* Houſe, thirty miles from *Boſton*, where they arrived next morning; and there retarded their motion till the afternoon, in hope of being overtaken by a Company of *Volunteers*, under the Command of Captain *Samuel Moſely*, which accordingly came to paſs, ſo as on *June* 28*th*. they all arrived at *Swanzy*, where by the advice of Captain *Cudworth*, the Commander in chief of *Plimouth Forces*, they were removed to the Head-Quarters, which for that time were appointed at Mr. *Miles* his houſe, the Miniſter of *Swanzy*, within a quarter of a mile of the Bridge, leading into *Philips Lands*. They arriving there ſome little time before night, twelve of the Troop unwilling to looſe time paſſed over the Bridge, for diſcovery into the Enemies Territories, where they found the rude welcome of eight or ten Indians firing upon them out of the Buſhes, killing one *William Hammond*, wounding Corporal *Belcher*, his Horſe being alſo ſhot down under him; the reſt of the ſaid Tropers having diſcharged upon thoſe *Indians* that ran away after their firſt ſhot, carried off their two dead and wounded Companions, and ſo retired to the main Guard for that night, pitching in a Barricado about Mr. *Miles* his houſe. The Enemy thought to have braved it out by a bold aſſauld or two at the firſt; but their hearts ſoon began to fail them when they perceived the *Maſſachuſets* & *Plimouth Forces* both engaged againſt them: for the next morning they ſhouted twice or thrice, at half a miles diſtance, and nine or ten of them ſhewing themſelves on this ſide the Bridge: our Horſemen with the whole body of the Privateers under Captain *Moſely*, not at all daunted by ſuch kind of Alarms, nor willing ſo to looſe the Bridge, ran violently down upon them over the ſaid Bridge, purſuing them a mile and quarter on the other ſide: Enſigne

Savage

Savage, that young Martial Spark, ſcarce twenty years of age, had at that time one bullet lodged in his Thigh, another ſhot through the brims of his Hat, by ten or twelve of the Enemy diſcharging upon him together, while he boldly held up his Colours in the Front of his Company: but the weather not ſuffering any further action at that time, thoſe that were thus far advanced, were compelled to retreat back to the main Guard, having firſt made a ſhot upon the *Indians* as they ran away into a Swamp near by, whereby they killed five or ſix of them, as was underſtood ſoon after at *Narhaganſet*: This reſolute charge of the *Engliſh* Forces upon the Enemy made them quit their place on *Mount-Hope* that very night, where *Philip* was never ſeen after, till the next year, when he was by a divine Mandate ſent back: there to receive the reward of his wickedneſs where he firſt began his miſchief: the next day Major *Savage* (that was to command in chief over the *Maſſachuſet Forces*, being come up with other Supplies about ſix a clock over night) the whole Body intended to march into *Mount-Hope*, and there beat up the Enemys quarters, or give him Battle, if he durſt abide it: but the weather being doubtful, our Forces did not march till near noon, about which time they ſet out, with a Troop of Horſe in each wing, to prevent the danger of the Enemies Ambuſcadoes; after they had marched about a mile & and half, they paſſed by ſome Houſes newly burned: not far of one of them they found a Bible newly torn, and the leaves ſcattered about by the Enemy, in hatred of our Religion therein revealed; two or three miles further they came up with ſome Heads, Scalps, and Hands cut off from the bodys of ſome of the Engliſh, and ſtuck upon Poles near the Highway, in that barbarous and inhumane manner bidding us Defyance, the Commander in chief giving Order that thoſe monuments of the Enemies cruelty ſhould be taken down, and buried: the whole body of the Forces ſtill marched on, two miles further, where they found divers Wigwams of the Enemy, amongſt which were many things ſcattered up and down, arguing the haſty flight of the Owners; half a mile further, as they paſſed on through many Fields of ſtately Corn, they found *Philips* own Wigwam; every place giving them to perceive the Enemies haſty departure from thence; after they had marched two miles further they came to the Sea ſide, yet in all this time meeting with no Indians, nor any ſign of them, unleſs of their flight to ſome other places. The ſeaſon like to prove very tempeſtuous, and rainy, Captain *Cudworth* with ſome of the men of *Plimouth* paſſed over to *Road-Iſland*. The Forces under Major *Savage* were forced to abide all night in the open Field, without any ſhelter, notwithſtanding the abundance of rain that

fell, and in the morning, deſpairing to meet with any enemy on *Mount-Hope*, they retreated back to their Quarters at *Swanzy*, in the way meeting with many Indian dogs, that ſeemed to have loſt their Maſters, That night Capt. *Prentice* his Troop for conveniency of Quarters, as alſo for diſcovery, was diſmiſſed to lodge at *Seaconke* or *Rehoboth*, a Town within ſix miles of *Swanzy*. As they returned back in the morning, Capt. *Prentice* divided his Troop, delivering one half to Leiutenant *Oakes*, and keeping the other himſelf, who as they rode along, eſpyed a company of Indians burning an houſe; but could not purſue them by reaſon of ſeveral Fences, that they could not goe over till the Indians had eſcaped into a Swampe. Thoſe with Leiutenant *Oakes* had the like diſcovery, but with better ſucceſs, as to the advantage of the ground, ſo as purſuing of them upon a plain, they ſlew four or five of them in the Chaſe, whereof one was known to be *Thebe* a Sachem of *Mount-Hope*, another of them was a chief Counſellor of *Philips*; yet in this attempt the Lieutenant loſt one of his company, *John Druce* by name, who was mortally wounded in his bowels, whereof he ſoon after dyed, to the great grief of his companions. After the ſaid Troop came up to the Head-Quarters at *Swanzy*, they underſtood from Capt. *Cudworth* that the enemy were diſcovered upon *Pocaſſet*, an other neck of Land lying over an arme of the Sea, more towards *Cape Cod*: However it was reſolved that a more narrow ſearch ſhould be made after them, both upon *Mount-Hope*, and upon the ground between *Swanzy* and *Rehoboth* to ſcoure the Swamps, and aſſault them if they could find where they were entrenched. Capt. *Henchman* and Capt. *Prentice* were ordered to ſearch the Swamps; while Capt. *Moſely* and Capt. *Paige* with his Dragoons attending on Major *Savage*, ſhould return back into *Mount-hope* that they might be ſure to leave none of the enemy behind them, when they ſhould remove to purſue them elſewhere.

About ten a clock the next morning, *July.* 4. Capt. *Henchman* after a long and tedious March, came to the Head-Quarters, and informed that he came upon a place where the enemy had newly been that night, but were eſcaped out of his reach: But that night before they were determined of any other motion, Capt. *Hutchinſon* came up from *Boſton* with new Orders for them to paſs into *Narrhaganſet*, to treat with the Sachems there, and if it might be, to prevent their joyning with *Philip*. Capt. *Cudworth*, by this time was come up to the Head Quarters, having left a Gariſon of fourty men upon *Mount-Hope* Neck. The next morning was ſpent in conſultation how to carry on the Treaty; it was then reſolved, that they ſhould goe to make a peace with a Sword in their hands

hands, having no ſmal ground of ſuſpition that the ſaid *Narhaganſets* might joyn with the enemy wherefore, they thought it neceſſary to carry all the *Maſſachuſet* Forces over into the *Narhaganſet* Country, to fight them if there ſhould be need; Capt. *Moſely* paſſed over by water to attend Capt. *Hutchinſon* in his diſpatch; the other Companys with the Troopers riding round about: as they paſſed they found the Indidians in *Pomhams* Country (next adjoyning to *Philips* Borders) all fled, and their Wigwams without any people in them.

After they came to the *Narvaganſet* Sachems, three or four dayes were ſpent in a treaty, after which a peace was concluded on ſundry Articles between the Meſſengers of *Connecticut* Colony (who were ordered to meet with thoſe of the *Maſſachuſets*) and the Commanders of the Forces ſent againſt *Philip*: Hoſtages were alſo given by the ſaid *Narhaganſets* for the performance of the agreement. A Copy of the ſaid Agreement, and the Articles on which a Peace was concluded, here follow. It being alwayes underſtood, that *Plimouth* Colony was included in the ſaid Agreement, although their Forces were not then preſent, but remained at home neer the enemies Borders, to ſecure their Towns, and oppoſe *Philip* as there might be occaſion, if he offered to make any new attempt in the mean time.

ARticles, Covenants and Agreements had, made and concluded by and between Major Thomas Savage, *Captain* Edward Hutchinſon, *and Mr.* Joſeph Dudley, *in behalf of the* Goverment *of the* Maſſachuſets Colony, *and Major* Wait Winthrop *and Mr.* Richard Smith *on behalf of* Connecticut Colony *on the one party, and* Agamaug, Womphn, *alias* Corman, Taitſon, Tawageſon *Councellors and Attournies to* Canonicus, Ninigret, Matataog, old Queen Quaiapen, Quananſhit & Pomham *the ſix preſent* Sachims *of the whole* Narhaganſet Country *on the other party, referring to ſeveral differences and troubles lately riſen between them; and for a final concluſion of ſettled Peace and Amity between the ſaid* Sachims, *their Heirs and Succeſſors for ever, and the* Governours *of the ſaid* Maſſachuſets *and* Connecticot, *and their* Succeſſors *in the ſaid* Goverments *for ever.*

I. *That all and every of the ſaid* Sachims *ſhall from time to time carefully ſeize, and living or dead deliver unto one or other of the aboveſaid Goverments, all and every of* Sachim Philips Subjects *whatſoever, that ſhall come*

or be found within the precincts of any of their Lands, and that with greateſt diligence and faithfulneſs.

II. *That they ſhall with their utmoſt ability uſe all Acts of Hoſtility againſt the ſaid* Philip *& his Subjects, entring his Lands or any other Lands of the* English, *to kill and deſtroy the ſaid Enemy, until a ceſſation from War with the ſaid Enemy be concluded by both the aboveſaid Colonies.*

III. *That the ſaid* Sachims, *by themſelves and their Agents, ſhall carefully ſearch out and deliver all ſtoln goods whatſoever taken by any of their Subjects from any of the* English, *whether formerly or lately, and ſhall make full ſatisfaction for all wrongs or injuries done to the Eſtate of any of the Subjects of the ſeveral Colonies, according to the judgement of indifferent men, in caſe of diſſatisfaction between the Offenders and the offended Parties, or deliver the offenders.*

IV. *That all Preparations for War, or Acts of Hoſtility againſt any of the* Engliſh *Subjects, ſhall for ever for the future ceaſe; together with all manner of Theſts, Pilferings, killing of Cattle, or any manner of breach of peace whatſoever ſhall with utmoſt care be prevented, & inſtead thereof their ſtrength to be uſed as a Guard round about the* Narraganſet Country, *for the* Engliſh Inhabitants *ſafety and ſecurity.*

V. *In token of the aboveſaid* Sachims *reality in this Treaty and Concluſion, and for the ſecurity of the ſeveral Engliſh Goverments and Subjects, they do freely deliver unto the aboveſaid Gentlemen, in the behalf of the aboveſaid Colonies,* John Wobequob, Weowthim, Pewkes, Weenew, *four of their near Kinſmen and choice Friends to be and remain as* Hoſtages *in ſeveral places of the Engliſh Juriſdictions, at the appointment of the Honourable Governours of the aboveſaid Colonies, there to be civilly treated not as Priſoners, but otherwiſe at their Honours Diſcretion, until the aboveſaid Articles, are fully accompliſhed to the ſatisfaction of the ſeveral Goverments, the departure of any of them in the mean time to be accounted breach of the Peace, and of theſe preſent Articles.*

VI. *The ſaid Gentlemen in the behalf of the Goverments to which they do belong, do engage to every the ſaid Sachims and their Subjects, that if they or any of them ſhall ſeize and bring into either the aboveſaid Engliſh Goverments, or to Mr.* Smith *Inhabitants of* Narhaganſet, Philip Sachim *alive, he or they ſo delivering, ſhall receive for their pains,* forty Trucking cloath Coats, *in caſe they bring his Head they ſhall have* twenty *like good* Coats *paid them: for every living Subject of ſaid* Philips *ſo delivered, the deliverer ſhall receive two Coats, and for every Head one Coat, as a Gratuity for their ſervice herein, making it appear to ſatisfaction, that the Heads or Perſons are belonging to the Enemy, and that they are of their ſeizure,*

VII. *The*

VII. *The ſaid* Sachims *do renew and confirm unto the Engliſh Inhabitants or others, all former Graunts, Sales, Bargains or Conveyances of Lands, Meadows, Timber, Graſs, Stones, or whatever elſe the Engliſh have heretofore bought or quietly poſſeſſed and enjoyed, to be unto them, and their Heirs, and Aſſigns for ever; as alſo all former Articles made with the Confederate Colonies.*

Laſtly, *The ſaid Counſellors and Attorneys do premeditately, ſeriouſly, and upon good advice, Covenant, Conclude and Agree all aboveſaid ſolemnly, and call God to witneſs they are, and ſhall remain true Friends to the Engliſh Goverments, and perform the aboveſaid Articles punctually, uſing their utmoſt endeavour, care and faithfulneſs therein: In witneſs whereof they have ſet their Hands and Seals.* Petaquamicot *July* 5. 1675.

Signed, Sealed and Delivered in the preſence of us underwritten, being carefully Interpreted to the ſaid Indians before Sealing.

Daniel Henchman.
Thomas Prentice.
Nicholas Paige.
Joſeph Stanton Interpreter.
Henry Haulaws.
Peeve Bukow.
Job Neff.

Tawageſon his mark C.
Tayſon his mark D.
Agamang his mark T.
Wampſh, alias *Corman* his mark. X.

During this Treaty of Peace with the Narhaganſets, Captain *Cudworth* with the Forces of *Plimouth* under his Command, found ſomething to do nearer home, though of another nature as it proved, *ſc.* to make War whilſt the other were (as they thought) making peace: in the firſt place therefore he diſpatched Captain *Fuller*) joyning Lieutenant *Church* together with him in Commiſſion) with fifty in his Company to *Poccaſſet*, on the ſame account, as the other went to Narhaganſet, either to conclude a Peace with them, if they would continue Friends, and give Hoſtages for the confirmation thereof, or fight them if they ſhould declare themſelves Enemies, and joyn with *Philip*; himſelf intending to draw down his Forces to *Rehoboth*, to be ready for a ſpeedy March to Taunton, and ſo down into the other ſide of the Country, upon the news that ſome of the Enemy were burning and ſpoiling of *Middleburrough* and *Dartmouth*, two ſmall Villages lying in the way betwix

betwixt *Pocaſſet* and *Plimouth*. Upon thurſday *July* 7. Captain *Fuller* with Captain *Church* went into *Pocaſſet* to ſeek after the Enemy, or elſe as occaſion might ſerve, to treat with thoſe Indians at *Pocaſſet*, with whom Mr. *Church* was very well acquainted, alwayes holding good correſpondence with them: After they had ſpent that day and moſt of the night, in traverſing the ſaid *Pocaſſet Neck*, and Watching all night in an Houſe which they found there, yet could hear no tidings of any Indians; inſomuch that Captain *Fuller* began to be weary of his deſign: Mr. *Church* in the mean while aſſuring him that they ſhould finde Indians before it were long: yet for greater expedition they divided their Company, Captain *Fuller* taking down toward the Sea-ſide, where it ſeems after ſome little skirmiſhing with them, wherein one man only received a ſmall Wound, he either ſaw or heard too many Indians for himſelf and his Company to deal with, which m de him and them betake themſelves to an Houſe near the Water-ſide, from whence they were fetched off by a Sloop before night to *Road Iſland*. Captain *Church* (for ſo may he well be ſtiled after this time) marched further into the Neck, imagining that if there were Indians in the Neck, they ſhould finde them about a peas-field not farr off: as ſoon as ever they came near the ſaid field he eſpyed two Indians in the peaſe, who alſo had at the ſame time eſpyed him, and preſently making ſome kind of ſhout, a great number of Indians came about the field, purſuing the ſaid Capt. *Church* and his men in great numbers to the ſea ſide: there being not above fifteen with *Church*, yet ſeven or eight ſcore of the Indians purſuing after them. Now was a fit time for this young Captain and his ſmall Company to handſel their valour upon this great rout of Indians, juſt ready to devour them: But victory ſtands no more in the number of Souldiers, then Verity in the plurality of voyces: And although ſome of theſe fifteen had ſcarce courage enough for themſelves, yet their Captain had enough for himſelf, and ſome to ſpare for his friends, which he there had an opportunity of improving to the full. When he ſaw the hearts of any of his followers to fail, he would bid them be of good Courage and fight ſtoutly, and (poſſibly by ſome divine impreſſion upon his heart) aſſured them not a bullet of the enemy ſhould hurt any one of them, which one of the Company, more diſmayed then the reſt, could hardly believe, till he ſaw the proof of it in his own perſon, for the Captain perceiving the man was not able to fight, made him gather Rocks together for a kind of ſhelter and Baricadoe for the reſt, that muſt either of neceſſity fight or fall by the enemyes. It chanced as this faint-hearted ſouldier had a flat ſtone in his armes, and was carying it to the ſhelter that he was making upon

upon the Bank, a bullet of the Enemy was thus warded from his Body by which he muſt elſe have periſhed, which experience put new life into him, ſo as he followed his buſineſs very manfully afterward, inſomuch that they defended themſelves under ſmall defence haſtily made up all that afternoon, not one being either ſlain or wounded, yet it was certainly known that they killed at leaſt fifteen of their Enemies: and at the laſt, when they had ſpent all their Amunition, and made their Guns unſerviceable by often firing, they were fetched all off by Capt. *Goldings* Sloop, and carried ſafe to *Road-Iſland* in deſpight of all their Enemies; yea, ſuch was the bold and undaunted courage of this Champion Capt. *Church*, that he was not willing to leave any token behind of their flying for want of courage, that in the face of his Enemies he went back to fetch his Hat, which he had left at a Spring, whether the extream heat of the weather, and his labour in fighting had cauſed him to repair for the quenching of his thirſt an hour or two before. It ſeems in the former part of the ſame day, five men coming from *Road-Iſland*, to look up their Cattle upon *Pocaſſet Neck*, were aſſaulted by the ſame *Indians*, and one of the five was Capt. *Churches* Servant, who had his Leg broke in the Skirmiſh, the reſt hardly eſcaping with their lives: this was the firſt time that ever any miſchief was done by the *Indians* upon *Pocaſſet Neck*. Thoſe of *Road-Iſland* were hereby Alarmed to look to themſelves, as well as the reſt of the Engliſh of *Plimouth*, or the *Maſſachuſets Colony*.

This Aſſault rather heightened and increaſed then daunted the courage of Capt. *Church*; for not making a cowardly flight, but a fair retreat, which providence offered him by the Sloop aforeſaid, after his Amunition was ſpent, he did not ſtay long at *Road-Iſland*, but haſted over to the *Mattachuſet Forces*, and borrowing three files of Men of Capt. *Henchman* with his Lieutenant: Mr. *Church* and he returned again to *Pocaſſet*, where they had another skirmiſh with the Enemy, wherein ſome few of them fourteen or fifteen were ſlain, which ſtruck ſuch a terror into *Philip*, that he betook himſelf to the Swamps about *Pocaſſet*, where he lay hid till the return of the reſt of the Forces from the *Narhaganſets*, like a wild Boar kept at a Bay by this ſmall party till more hands came up.

Thus were the *Plimouth Forces* buſied, during the time of the Treaty with the *Narhaganſets*, which being iſſued as it was.

On Friday *July* 15. Our Forces Marched for, and araived at *Rehoboth* where having no intelligence of the Enemy nearer then a great Swamp on *Pocaſſet*, eighteen miles from *Taunton*; they marched next day twelve miles to an Houſe at *Matapoiſet* (a ſmall Neck of Land in the bottome

of *Taunton Bay*, in the mid-way between *Mount-hope* and *Pocaſſet Neck*) from whence they marched for *Taunton*. *July* 17. whither after a tedious March of twenty miles they came in the evening, and found the People generally gathered into eight Gariſon Houſes:

On Munday *July* 18. they Marched eighteen miles before they could reach the Swamp where the Enemy was lodged; as ſoon as ever they came to the place, *Plimouth Forces* being now joyned with them, our Souldiers reſolutely entred in amongſt the Enemies, who took the advantage of the thick under-wood, to make a ſhot at them that firſt entred whereby five were killed outright, ſeven more wounded, ſome of whoſe wounds proved mortal: After the firſt ſhot, the Enemy preſently retired deeper into the Swamp, deſerting their Wigwams (about an hundred in all) newly made of green Barks, ſo as they would not burn: in one of them they found an old man, who confeſſed that *Philip* had been lately there: having ſpent ſome time in ſearching the Swamp, and tired themſelves to no purpoſe, yet it was ſaid one half hour more would have at that time utterly ſubdued *Philip* and all his power. The Commander in chief, (night drawing on apace) not thinking it ſafe to tarry longer in ſo dangerous a place, (where every one was in as much danger of his fellows as of his foes, being ready to fire upon every Buſh they ſee move (ſuppoſing *Indians* were there) ordered a Retreat to be ſounded, that they might have time to diſpoſe of their dead and wounded men, which accordingly was attended: *Plimouth Forces* who had entred in the rear, retreating in the front. It was judged that the Enemy being by this means brought into a Pound, it would be no hard matter to deal with them, and that it would be needleſs charge to keep ſo many Companies of Souldiers together to wait upon ſuch an inconſiderable Enemy, now almoſt as good as taken: whereupon moſt of the Companies belonging to the *Maſſachuſets* were drawn off, only Capt. *Henchman* with an hundred Foot being left there, together with *Plimouth Forces*, to attend the Enemies motion, being judged ſufficient for that end. Major *Savage*, Capt. *Paige* with Capt. *Moſely* and their Companies returned to *Boſton*: Capt. *Prentice* with his Troop were ordered toward *Mendham*, where it ſeems, about the middle of *July*, ſome *Indians*, wiſhing well to *Philips* deſign, had made an aſſaul upon ſome of the Inhabitants, as they were at their labour in the Field, killing five or ſix of them: as ſoon as they had done, flying away into the Woods, ſo as they could not eaſily be purſued: The Inhabitants of the ſame Village, lying ſo in the heart of the Enemies Country began to be diſcouraged, ſo as within a little time after they forſook the place, abandoning their Houſes to the fury of the

the enemy, which by them were ſoon after turned into aſhes. But to return to king *Philip*, who was now lodged in the great ſwampe upon *Pocaſſet* Neck, of ſeven miles long: Capt. *Henchman* and the *Plimouth* Forces kept a diligent eye upon the enemy, but were not willing to run into the mire and dirt after them in a dark Swamp being taught by late experience how dangerous it is to fight in ſuch diſmal Woods, when their eyes were muffled with the leaves, and their heads pinnioned with the thick boughs of the trees, as their feet were continually ſhackled with the roots ſpreading every way in thoſe boggy Woods. It is ill fighting with a wilde Beaſt in his own den. They reſolved therefore to ſtarve them out of the Swamp, where they knew full well they could not long ſubſiſt: To that end they began to build a Fort, as it were to beleaguer the enemy, and prevent his eſcape out of the place, where they thought they had him faſt enough. *Philip* in the mean time was not ignorant of what was doing without, and was ready therein to read his own doome, ſo as if he tarryed much longer there, he knew he ſhould fall into their hands from whom he could expect no mercy: The caſe being therefore deſperate, he reſolved with an hundred or two of his beſt fighting men to make an eſcape by the Water, all paſſages by the land being ſufficiently guarded by the Engliſh Forces. The Swampe where they were lodged being not far from an arm of the Sea, coming up to *Taunton*, they taking the advantage of a low tide, either waded over one night in the end of *July*, or elſe wafted themſelves over upon ſmall Rafts of timber very early before break of day, by which meanes the greateſt part of his Company eſcaped away into the woods, leading into the *Nipmuck* Country, altogether unknown to the Engliſh Forces, that lay encamped on the other ſide of the Swamp. About an hundred or more of the women and Children, which were like to be rather burdenſome then ſerviceable were left behind, who ſoon after reſigned up themſelves to the mercy of the Engliſh. *Philips* eſcape thus from *Pocaſſet* could not long be concealed after the day appeared, there being much champaign Land through which he was to paſs, ſo as being diſcovered to ſome of *Rehoboth*, the Inhabitants preſently followed him, together with a Party of the *Mohegins* (that a little before came to *Boſton*, offering their ſervice againſt *Philip*, and were ſent up into thoſe parts to be ordered by Capt. *Henchman* but before they came to him were eaſily perſwaded to go along with any of the Engliſh that were engaged in the purſuit of *Philip*) News alſo thereof was carryed to Capt. *Henchman*, who as ſoon as he could get over with ſix files of men (rowing hard all or moſt part of the day to get to *Providence*) followed after the enemy.

The *Mohegins* with the men of *Rehoboth*, and ſome of *Providence* came upon their Reer over night, ſlew about thirty of them, took much plunder from them, without any conſiderable loſſe to the Engliſh. Capt. *Henchman* came not up to them (purſuing them only by the Track) till the Skirmiſh was over, and having marched twenty two miles that day was not well able to go any further that night; on the other hand, the Forces that came from *Rehoboth* and that belonged to *Plimouth*, having left their horſes three miles off, could not goe back to fetch them without much loſs of time, and therefore looking at it altogether bootleſs to go after them in the morning, returned back the next day, leaving Capt *Henchman* with his ſix Files, and the *Mohegins* to purſue the Chaſe to *Nipſatchet*, which he did the next morning. Capt. *Henchman*, that he might the better engage the *Mohegins* to march with him thirty miles gave them half his proviſion, and was himſelf recruited again by the care of Capt. *Edmunds* of *Providence*, & Leiutenant *Brown*, who brought proviſion after him to the *Nipmuck* Forts. Mr. *Newman* the Miniſter of *Rehoboth* deſerved not a little Commendation for exciting his neighbours and friends to purſue thus far after *Philip*, animating of them by his own example and preſence: But what the reaſon was why *Philip* was followed no further, it is better to ſuſpend, then too critically to enquire. This is now the third time when a good opportunity of ſuppreſſing the Rebellion of the Indians, was put into the hands of the Engliſh; but time and chance hapneth to all men, ſo that the moſt likely meanes are often fruſtrated of their deſired end. All humane endeavours ſhall arive at no other ſucceſs, then the Counſel of God hath preordained, that no fleſh might glory in their own Wiſdome, but give unto God the praiſe of all their Succeſſes, and quietly bear whatever Miſcariages he hath ordered to befall them. It appears by the iſſue of theſe things, that although this wound was not incurable, yet much more bloud muſt be taken away before it could be healed. But by this means *Philip* eſcaped away to the Weſtward, kindling the flame of Warre in all the Weſtern plantations of the *Maſſachuſets* Colony wherever he came, ſo that by this fatal accident, the fire that was in a likely way to be extinguiſhed, as ſoon almoſt' as it began, did on the ſudden break out through the whole Juriſdiction of the *Maſſachuſets*, both Eaſtward and Weſtward, endangering alſo the neighbour Colony of *Connecticut*, which hath alſo ſuffered ſomewhat by the fury of this Flame, though not conſiderable to what the other Colonyes have undergone.

While things after this manner proceeded in and about the Colony of *Plimouth*, the Commiſſioners of the reſt of the Colonyes, were conſulting

ſulting and adviſing what was to be done for preventing the miſchief threatned from ſpreading any further, fearing (as indeed there was too much cauſe) that although *Philip* only appeared to make the firſt attempt, yet more either already were, or ſoon might be be perſwaded to joyn with him in acting this bloudy Tragedy.

It hath been already declared what hath been done for the ſecuring of the *Narhaganſets*, thoſe that were ſent as Meſſengers on that errand, alwayes reported that the elder people were in appearance, not only inclinable to peace, but ſeemed very deſirous thereof, inſomuch as their two eldeſt Sachems expreſſed much joy when it was concluded; but as ſince hath appeared, all this was but to gain time, and cover their treacherous intents and purpoſes, that they might in the next Spring fall upon the Engliſh plantations all at once, as ſome priſoners lately brought in, have owned and confeſſed; nor have any of thoſe Indians with whom the preſent War hath been, ever regarded any agreements of peace made with the Engliſh, further then out of neceſſity and ſlaviſh fear they were compelled thereunto, as may be ſeen by the Records of the united Colonyes from the year 1643 to the preſent time, notwithſtanding all their fair pretences; for *Ninigret*, the old Sachem of the *Narhaganſets*, who alone of all the reſt of that Country Sachems diſowned the preſent war, and refuſed to have any hand therein, yet was it proved to his face before the Commiſſioners, in the years 1646 and 1647, that he had threatned they would carry on the war againſt the *Mohegins*, whatever were the mind of the Commiſſioners, and that they would kill the Engliſh Cattle, and heap them up as high as their Wigwams, and that an Engliſh man ſhould not ſtir out of his doors to piſs, but they would kill him; all which he could not deny; yet did this old Fox make many promiſes of peace; when the dread of the Engliſh ever ſince the *Pequod-war* moved him thereunto; foreſeeing as he is ſaid to have told his neighbours, that they would all be ruined if they made War with the *Engliſh*, as is ſince come to paſs. However the good hand of God was ſeen in ſo ordering things, that the *Narhaganſets* were for the preſent reſtrained from breaking out into open Hoſtility againſt the *Engliſh*, at that time when *Philip* began: which if they had then done, according to the eye of reaſon, it would have been very difficult, if poſſible for the *Engliſh* to have ſaved any of their inland plantations from being utterly deſtroyed. Thus hath God in his Wiſdome ſuffered ſo much of the rage of the Heathen to be let looſe againſt his people here, as to become a Scourge unto them, that by the wrath of men, praiſe might be yeilded to his holy Name, yet hath he in his abundant goodneſs reſtrained the remainder, that it ſhould not conſume.

The next thing in order to be related, is the calamity that befel the Village of *Brookfield*, which notwithstanding all the care that was taken, fell into the hands of the perfideous *Nipnet Indians*, as ſhall here in the nex place be declared; only as we paſs along to remind the Reader in a few words, what was the iſſue of Capt. *Henchmans* purſuit of *Philip*: the *Plimouth Forces* being returned home, as was ſaid before, Capt. *Henchman* with his ſix Files of men, and the *Mohegin Indians*, having continued in the purſuit of *Philip* till they had ſpent all their proviſion, and tired themſelves, yet never coming within ſight of *Philip*, the *Mohegin Indians* in their Company directed them to *Mendham*, and then leaving them, returned alſo to their own Country. Capt. *Henchman* in his march toward *Mendham*, or at *Mendham*, met with Capt. *Moſely* coming up to bring him Proviſion, and advertizing him of what ſucceſs he had met withal in the purſuit; they attend their courſe, for Captain *Henchman* was ſent down to the Governour and Council, to know what they ſhould do: they preſently reminded him to *Pocaſſet*, and ordered him to ſtay there if there were need, or elſe to draw off, ſurrendring the Fort he had been building to *Plimouth Forces*, which laſt was choſen by thoſe of *Plimouth*, whereupon Capt. *Henchman* returning to *Boſton*, was ordered to disband his men. Capt. *Moſely* was ordered to march to *Quabaog* or *Brookfield*, where he continued a while, the other Captains ſent up for the relief of the People there, and to ſeek after the Enemy in thoſe Woods, and after ſome time ſpent in ranging the Country thereabouts, and not meeting with any of the Infidels, he with his Company came downwards, ſearching the Woods betwixt *Lancaſter* (where a Man and his Wife with two Children were ſlain on the Lords-day, *Aug.* 22.) and *Malberough*, where alſo a Lad keeping ſheep, was ſhot at by an *Indian* that wore a ſign, as if he had been a Friend: the Indian was ſuppoſed to belong to the *Haſſanemeſit Indians*, at that time confined to *Malberough*, where they had liberty to dwell there in a kind of a Fort: The next day the Inhabitants ſent to demand their Guns, Capt. *Moſely* acquainted therewith, marched to the Fort and found much ſuſpition againſt eleven of them, for ſinging and dancing, and having Bullets and Slugs, and much Powder hid in their Baskets; inſomuch that eleven of them were ſent down Priſoners to *Boſton* upon ſuſpition, that they had an hand in killing the four at *Lancaſter*, and ſhooting at the *Malberough* Shepherd: But upon Tryal, the ſaid Priſoners were all of them quitted from the Fact, and were either releaſed, or elſe were with others of that ſort, ſent for better ſecurity, and for preventing future trouble in the like kind to ſome of the iſlands below *Boſton* toward *Nantasket*.

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About this time Capt. *Moſely* was ſent with a Company of Souldiers to ſome *Indian Plantations* up *Merrimack River*, as high as *Penny-cook*, but they found no *Indians* there; thoſe that belonged to the place having withdrawn themſelves from that Native place, that they might not meddle in the preſent quarrel, as is confidently believed that *Woonalanſet* the Sachim of that Country had ſo reſolved. That Coaſt being clear of the Enemies, Capt. *Moſely* ſoon after was ſent up with his Men to the Towns Weſtward about *Haaly*, if it might be, to ſubdue the Enemy, who a little before, and at that time, was doing all the miſchief he could in thoſe Weſtern Plantations, both by Fire and Sword.

But to return and purſue the Rebellious Indians, and keep pace with them in our Hiſtory, though our Forces as yet could never overtake them in the Woods. The Governour and Council of the Maſſachuſets were ſenſible of as much danger from the *Nipnet Indians*, as from the former: they being the Inland part of the Country betwixt the Sea-coaſt and *Connecticut River* Weſtward, and the Towns about the *Maſſachuſets Bay* Eaſtward, whereupon ſome perſons that uſed to Trade with the ſaid *Nipnets*, were ſent to ſound them, and find how they ſtood affected, for which alſo there was the more reaſon, becauſe they were alwayes in ſubjection to the Sachim of *Mount-Hope*, and ſo were the more like to engage in the preſent quarrel; of which there had been ſufficient proof already: when on the 14. of *July*, ſome of the *Nipnet Indians* next bordering on *Philips Country*, ſet upon ſome of *Mendham* (a Town ſcituate Northward from *Mount-Hope*, within 36. Miles from *Boſton*,) where they killed four or five perſons which was the firſt miſchief done upon any of the Inhabitants within the Juriſdiction of the *Maſſachuſets*, acted as was ſaid by one *Matoonas* who was Father to him that had committed a murder ſoon after *Philips* firſt Rebellion, An. 1671. The Meſſenger that was ſent thither, brought word back that they found the ſaid *Indians* wavering; the young men very ſurly and inſolent, the elder ones, ſhewing ſome inclination to maintain the wonted peace: Soon after, *July* 28. 1675. Capt. *Wheeler* was ſent to aſſiſt (Capt. *Hutchinſon* with a party of twenty Horſe to Treat further about the Peace, who going firſt to *Quabaog* or *Brookfield*, a Town ſcituate about ſixty or ſeventy miles from *Boſton*, in the Road of *Connecticot*, lying about *twenty five* miles from the ſaid River, and not far diſtant from the chief ſeat of the *Nipnet Indians*. The Inhabitants of the ſaid *Brookfield* had been ſo deluded by thoſe Treacherous Villains, that they fearing no danger, firſt obtained of thoſe *Nipnets*, the promiſe of a Treaty upon the ſecond of *Auguſt*, whereupon ſome of the chief of the Town riding along unarmed

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with the ſaid *Wheeler* and *Hutchinſon*, with their party of Horſe until they came to the place appointed, but finding no Indians, ſo ſecure were they, that they ventured along further, to find the Infidels at their chief Town, never ſuſpecting the leaſt danger, but when they had rode four or five miles that way, they fell into an Ambuſh, of two or three hundred Indians, laid in ſuch a narrow paſſage, betwixt a ſteep hill on the one hand, and an hideous Swamp on the other, that it was ſcarce poſſible for any of them to eſcape, eight of them being ſhot down upon the place (whereof three were of *Brookefield*) and three mortally wounded whereof Capt. *Hutchinſon* was one, Cap. *Wheeler* alſo was near looſing his life, whoſe horſe was ſhot down under him, and himſelf ſhot through the body, ſo that all manner of hopes to eſcape had been removed from him, had it not been for his Son, who was (by Gods good providence) near or next unto him, being a man of undaunted courage (notwithſtanding his own Arm was broken with a Bullet) yet with great nimbleneſs and agility of body, diſmounting himſelf, ſpeedily mounted his Father upon his own Horſe, himſelf getting upon an other, whoſe Maſter was killed, by which means they both eſcaped, and were afterwards cured. Much ado had thoſe that were left alive to recover *Brookefield*, which in all probability they had never done (the common Road being way laid with Indians on every ſide as was afterwards known) had it not been for one well acquainted with thoſe Woods, who led them in a by path, by which means they got thither, a little before the Indians, who quickly came flocking into the Town, with full intent to deſtroy it with fire and Sword. But by ſpecial providence the Inhabitants were all gathered to the principal houſe of the Village (there being ſcarce twenty in the Town) before the barbarous Miſcreants came upon them, immediately ſetting fire upon all the dwelling houſes, with moſt of the other Buildings in the Town ſave that one into which the Inhabitants were retired, the which they ſeveral times attempted to burn, but were almoſt miraculouſly defeated of their purpoſe by the immediate hand of God. In the Mount of the Lord it ſhall be ſeen. For when they had for two dayes aſſaulted that poor handfull of helpleſs people, both night and day pouring in ſhot upon them inceſſantly with gunns, and alſo thruſting poles with Fire-brands, and rags dipt in brimſtone tyed to the ends of them to fire the houſe.

At laſt they uſed this deviliſh Stratagem, to fill a Cart with hemp, flax and other combuſtible matter, and ſo thruſting it backward with poles ſpliced together a great length, after they had kindled it; But as ſoon as it had begun to take fire, a Storm of rain unexpectedly falling, put

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out the Fire, or elſe all the poor people, about ſeventy ſouls, would either have been conſumed by mercileſs flames, or elſe have fallen into the hands of their cruel enemyes, like Wolves continually yelling and gaping for their prey.

Thus was that diſtreſſed Company ſtrangely delivered, who have for ever cauſe to ſay with the Pſalmiſt, *Bleſſed be the Lord, who hath not given us a prey to their teeth, our ſoul is eſcaped as a bird out of the ſnare of the Fowlers, the ſnare is broken and we are eſcaped.* For the next night Major *Willard*, by accident hearing of the danger the People were in, as θεὸς ἀπὸ μηχανῆς, came with forty eight Dragoons to their relief. The occaſion which brought Major *Willard* and Capt. *Parker* of *Groton* with forty ſix more, ſo timely to their relief was this Major *Willard* in purſuance of his Commiſſion from the Governour and Council, was upon Wedneſday *Auguſt the 4th* in the morning, marching out after ſome *Indians* to the Weſtward, to ſecure them: juſt as they were ſetting forth, ſome of *Malberough*, who had intelligence by thoſe that were going to *Connecticot*, and forced to return, what diſtreſs *Brookfield* was in, and knowing of Major *willards* purpoſe to go out that morning from *Lancaſter*, ſent a Poſt to acquaint him therewith, which though it did not find him in the Town, yet overtook him before he had gone above four or five miles from the place: whereupon, conceiving it more needful to ſuccour *Brookfield* in ſo eminent danger, then to proceed further upon his intended deſign: he altered his courſe and marched directly thither, being about thirty miles diſtant when the tidings were brought him; ſo he arrived there that night very ſeaſonably, about an hour after it was dark, or elſe in probability they had all periſhed before the relief ſent up from *Boſton* could have reached them, which was not till three dayes after. The providence of God likewiſe in bringing in the ſaid Major ſo ſafely, as well as ſeaſonably to their relief, was very remarkable. For the *Indians* had ſubtilly contrived to cut off all relief ſent, before it could come at them, by laying Ambuſhes, and placing their Scouts, at two or three miles diſtance round the Town: About an hundred of them were lodged at an houſe not far off in the way toward *Boſton*, to cut off any Succour that might come from thence: but it is ſuppoſed they were ſo intenſe upon the Project they were about for firing the Houſe, concluding it would without fail take place, that either they did not minde their buſineſs of Watching, or making ſuch a noiſe for joy thereof, that they did not hear their Sentinels when they ſhot off their Guns, at two miles diſtance. It is ſaid that another party of the *Indians*, let the Major and his Company purpoſely paſs by them, with-

out any oppoſition, waiting for the blow to be given at their firſt approach near the houſe, then to have themſelves fallen upon their Rear, and ſo to have cut them all off, before the beſieged underſtood any thing thereof. But it pleaſed God ſo to order things in providence, that no notice was taken of them by the Beſiegers, nor were they at all diſcerned by them till they had made themſelves known to their Friends, and were admitted within the Court of Guard; which when the Enemy had notice of, they poured in their ſhot abundantly upon them, but they were now ſheltered from the danger thereof: only it ſeems their Houſes were expoſed to their fury, ſo as many of them were maimed and killed, as were moſt of the Cattle belonging to the Inhabitants of the place ſoon after. This Honoured Perſon Major *Willard* continued at *Brookfield* after this famous exploit for the preſervation of the poor beſieged at *Brookfield*, divers weeks to order ſuch Companies as were ſent up that way for the ſecuring of the Plantations on that ſide of the Country; and not long after he went himſelf alſo to *Hadly* upon the like ſervice of the Country in the preſent War: But after ſome time ſpent in thoſe parts, he returned back to his own place, to order the affairs of his own Regiment, much needing his preſence, and leaving the Forces about *Hadly* under the command of the Major of that Regiment.

But to return to what was in hand before, after the Indians underſtood that ſuccours were come in to the beſeiged, they fired all that they had left ſtanding for their own ſhelter while they had beſeiged the place before mentioned, ran all away into their own dens, in the neighbouring woods: however it was confeſſed by one of themſelves, that the enemy had eighty of their men killed and wounded in this buſineſs. But ere we paſs any further in purſuit of the Hiſtory of theſe matters, it will not be amiſs to let the Reader underſtand the horrible perfidious and treacherous dealing of theſe *Nipnet Indians*, who of all other had the leaſt reaſon as to any pretence of injury, yet did moſt deceitfully and barbarouſly joyn with *Philip* and his Indians, after they had been ſeveral times ſent unto by the Governour and Council of the *Maſſachuſets*, by the advice of *Plimouth*, to have prevented their Riſing, as well as the riſing of the *Narhaganſets*, and alſo had faithfully promiſed not to meddle in the quarrel, as may more fully appear by the Engagement under the hands of their Sachems, ſome time before Capt. *Hutchinſon* and Capt. *Wheeler* were ſent up to them, which by reaſon of the haſt and unskilfullneſs of the Meſſengers on that behalf ſent, is not ſo fit for publick view: but the account of it from their return,

under

under their hand and oath, *July* 24, 75. when Leiut. *Ephraim Curtice* ſpake with five of the *Nipnet* Sachems, four too many to govern ſo ſmall a people, but lying upon the head of the principal Indian Territoryes, they were divided into ſo many ſmall partyes, two of whom, *viz.* *Sam* Sachem of *Weſhacums*, and *Netaump* were executed together afterward at *Boſton*. All of them did at that time ſolemnly renew their Covenant and promiſe under their hands to come to *Boſton* to ſpeak further with the Governour, inſtead of which what they perfidiouſly did againſt Capt *Hutchinſon* and others, hath already been declared.

Upon the report of this ſad Diſaſter that befel the Inhabitants of *Brookefield*, Forces were ſent up under the Command of Capt. *Lothrop* and others, to purſue after thoſe Indians, harbouring about thoſe places, and if it might be, to prevent them from joyning with the Indians upon *Connecticut River*, who as yet had not diſcovered themſelves as willing to eſpouſe *Philips* intereſt, but rather made ſome ſemblance to the contrary. There was much time ſpent by Major *willard*, and ſeveral Companyes of Souldiers left under his command, about the *Nipnet* Country, but all to no purpoſe, for partly by the treachery of ſome of the Indians that came to their aſſiſtance, that ſeemed to favour the Engliſh, but rather acted in behalf of the enemy, partly by the ſubtletyes of the enemyes themſelves, who could eaſily by their ſcouts diſcern the approach of our ſouldiers, and by the nimbleneſs of their feet eſcape them: our Souldiers could never meet with any of them, but only by that means driving them further Weſtward, they gathered all the Indians they could to their party about *Pecomptuck*, alias *Dearfield*, *Swamſcot*, and *Squaketag*, where were ſome plantations of the Engliſh newly began, whom they aſſaulted in the next place, and did what miſchief they could upon them.

It is here to be noted that although that worthy Patriot and experieneed Souldier Major *Willard* hearing of the diſtreſs of *Brookefield* by ſome that were travelling to *Connecticut* was the firſt that relieved the diſtreſſed people of *Quabaog* or *Brookefield*, yet Major *Pinchon* of *Springfield* alſo by accident hearing of their Calamity, had not only ſent word thereof to *Hartford* (from whom he received a ſupply of five and twenty or thirty ſouldiers under Capt. *Wats*) but did alſo ſend a Band of men under Lieut. *Cooper* (who was afterwards villanouſly ſlain by *Springfield* Indians) who with thoſe ſent from *Hartford*, and ſome Indians belonging to *Springfield* (ſeemingly forward to help the Engliſh) made up fourſcore or thereabouts, theſe marched down to *Brookefield* the ſame day that Capt *Lothrop* and Capt. *Beers* came up from the

Maſſachuſets, who having ſpent ſome time in ſearching the woods about *Springfield*, and finding none of the Indians, did the next day march up to a place called *Meminimiſſet* by the Indians, where Capt. *Hutchinſon* and Capt. *Wheeler* were aſſaulted, and finding no ſign of any Indians amongſt thoſe woods and Swamps; the Company that came from *Springfield*, left the other Souldiers (who returned to their Quarters at *Brookfield*) and went up themſelves further northward, at leaſt twenty miles from the ſaid *Brookfield*, and finding no track of Indians in all thoſe woods, they returned back to *Springfield*, leaving enough to defend the people of *Brookfield*, and the gariſon there.

By this it appears, that the Indians by this occaſion were driven more weſtward into the woods between *Hadly* and *Squakheag*. where they ſoon effected their deſign, *viz.* to leaven the Indians on that ſide the Country with the ſame prejudice and malice againſt the Engliſh, with which they themſelves were (though without cauſe) imbittered; for in a few dayes the device took place amongſt *Hadly* and *Dearfield* Indians, and was preſently put in execution by the ſaid Indians, withdrawing from the Engliſh and aſſiſting *Philip* and the *Nipnets* to ſpoile and deſtroy all the towns weſtward, as ſoon after came to paſs: yet at the firſt ſome of the *Hadly* Indians pretended real friendſhip to the Engliſh, and offered themſelves to fight againſt *Philip*, but the *Mohegin Indians* that came afterward from *Harford* began to ſuſpect the Treachery of the other, and told the *Engliſh* plainly, that no good would be done, while any of that Company went along with them in purſuit of the Enemy, for as was ſaid, they would alwayes give ſome ſhout when they came near the Enemy, as if they ſhould thereby wiſh them to look to themſelves; inſomuch that the ſaid *Hadly Indians* fell into great ſuſpicion with the *Engliſh*, and for a proof of their Fidelity, they were required to bring in their Arms to the *Engliſh*, but upon that motion they delayed a little, but that very night they fled away from their Dwellings, which was in a Wooden Fortification, within a mile of *Hatfield*, whereby they plainly diſcovered that they had ſecretly plotted to joyn with *Philips* Party, as far as they had an opportunity to do them any eminent ſervice: ſome think the Engliſh failed in point of prudence not managing that buſineſs ſo warily as they might, which if they had done, their defection had been prevented, but it is moſt probable that *Philip* had hired them to own his quarrel, by ſending them gifts in the Spring, and that the body of the ſaid *Indians* were moſt readily inclined thereunto: But the Sachims and the elder ones of them, ſeemed loth at firſt to engage againſt the *Engliſh*. In concluſion, when they had ſo falſly

falſly left their Dwellings, and were running after *Philip* and the *Nipmet Indians* (at that time harboured in thoſe Woods) the *Engliſh* were ſo provoked, that were under Capt. *Lothrop* and Capt. *Beers*, that they purſued after them very early the next morning, and overtook them about ten miles above *Hatfield*, at a place called *Sugar-loaf Hill*, and had a ſmall skirmiſh with them, wherein there were nine or ten of the *Engliſh* ſlain, and about twenty ſix *Indians*: yet the reſt eſcaped, and ſo joyned with *Philip* and his Company, preſently after which accident, they were ſo emboldned, that upon the firſt of *September*, about ſeven dayes after they ſet upon *Dearfield*, killed one Man, and laid moſt of the Houſes in aſhes. About two or three dayes after they fell upon *Squakeag*, another new Plantation, fifteen miles higher up the River, above *Dearfield*, where they killed nine or ten of the People, the reſt hardly eſcaped into the Gariſon houſe.

The next day, this diſaſter not being known, Captain *Beers*, for fear of the worſt, with thirty ſix men, was ſent up to the ſaid *Squakeag*, with ſupplies both of men and proviſion to ſecure the ſmall Gariſon there, but before they came very near to the Town, they were ſet upon by many hundreds of the *Indians* out of the Buſhes by a Swamp ſide, of whom Capt. *Beers* (who was known to fight valiantly to the very laſt) with about twenty of his men, were by this ſudden ſurprifal there ſlain, the reſt flying back to *Hadly*. Here the Barbarous Villains ſhewed their inſolent rage and cruelty, more then ever before, cutting off the heads of ſome of the ſlain, and fixing them upon Poles near the Highway, and not only ſo, but one (if not more) was found with a Chain hooked into his under jaw, and ſo hung up on the Bow of a Tree, (tis feared he was hung up alive) by which means they thought to daunt and diſcourage any that might come to their relief, and alſo to terrifie thoſe that ſhould be Spectators with the beholding ſo ſad an object: inſomuch that Major *Treat* with his Company, going up two days after, to fetch off the reſidue of the Gariſon, were ſolemnly affected with that doleful ſight, which made them make the more haſt to bring down the Gariſon, not waiting for any opportunity to take revenge upon the Enemy, having but an hundred with him, two few for ſuch a purpoſe. Captain *Appleton* going up after him, met him coming down, and would willingly have perſwaded them, to have turned back, to ſee if they could have made any ſpoil upon the Enemy, but the greateſt part adviſed to the contrary, ſo that they were all forced to return, with what they could carry away, leaving the reſt for a booty to the Enemy, who ſhall ere long pay a ſad reckoning for their Robberies and Cruelties, in the

time appointed: but the ſufferings of the *Engliſh* were not as yet come to their height, for after they were come to *Hadly*, the Commander in chief taking Counſel with the Officers of the Souldiers, ordered them that were then preſent to Gariſon the Towns about; ſome to be at *North-Hampton*, *Hatfield*, *Dearfield*, and ſome to remain at *Hadly* where were the Head-quarters of the *Engliſh*. But perceiving that little good was to be done upon the Enemy in thoſe parts, it was agreed that what Corn was left at *Dearfield*, being threſhed out as well as they could in thoſe tumults (about three thouſand Buſhels was ſuppoſed to be there ſtanding in ſtacks) ſhould be brought to *Hadly*, and wait further time to fight the Enemy. It came to C. *Lothrops* turn, or rather it was his choice with about eighty men to guard ſeveral Carts laden with Corn, & other Goods, the Company under Capt. *Moſely* then quartering at *Dearfield* intended that day to purſue after the Enemy. But upon *September* 18. that moſt fatal day, the ſaddeſt that ever befel *New-England*, as the Company were marching along with the Carts (it may be too ſecurely) never apprehending danger ſo near, were ſuddenly ſet upon, and almoſt all cut off (not above ſeven or eight eſcaping) which great defeat came to paſs by the unadviſed proceeding of the Captain (who was himſelf ſlain in the firſt aſſault) although he wanted neither courage nor skill to lead his Souldiers; but having taken up a wrong notion about the beſt way and manner of fighting with the *Indians* (which he was always wont to argue for) *viz.* that it were beſt to deal with the *Indians* in their own way, *ſc.* by skulking behind Trees, and taking their aim at ſingle perſons, which is the uſual manner of the *Indians* fighting one with another, but herein was his great miſtake, in not conſidering the great diſadvantage a ſmaller Company would have in dealing that way with a greater multitude; for if five have to deal with one, they may ſurround him, and every one take his aim at him, while he can level but at one of his Enemies at a time: which groſs miſtake of his, was the ruine of a choice company of young men, the very flower of the County of *Eſſex*, all culled out of the Towns belonging to that County, none of which were aſhamed to ſpeak with the Enemy in the gate: their dear Relations at home mourning for them; like *Rachel* for her children, and would not be comforted, not only becauſe they were not, but becauſe they were ſo miſerably loſt. (The like miſtake was conceived to be the reaſon of the loſs of the former perſons, ſlain with the ſaid *Lothrop*, purſuing the *Indians* that ran away from *Hadly*, and of the twenty ſlain with Capt. *Beers* men, who betook themſelves at firſt to their Trees, and at the laſt a few got to their Horſes ſoon after their Captain was

ſhot

ſhot down.) For had he ordered his men to March in a Body, as ſome of his fellow-Commanders advited, either backward, or forward, in reaſon, they had not loſt a quarter of the number of them that fell that day by the edge of the Sword. For the Indians, notwithſtanding their ſubtlety and cruelty, durſt not look an *Engliſhman* in the face, in the open field, nor ever yet were known to kill any man with their Guns, unleſs when they could lye in wait for him in an ambuſh, or behind ſome ſhelter, take aim undiſcovered; ſo that although it was judged by thoſe that eſcaped, that there was ſeven or eight hundred *Indians* at leaſt that encountred that Company of eighty of *Engliſh*, yet if they had kept together in a Body, and fought Marſhalling, they might have eſcaped the numbers of the Enemy, with little loſs in compariſon of what they ſuſtained. For the valiant and ſucceſsful Capt. *Moſely*, and his Lieutenant, coming (though too late) to their reſcue, marched through and through that great body of *Indians*, and yet came off with little or no loſs in compariſon of the other. And having fought all thoſe *Indians* for five or ſix hours upon a march, loſt not above two men all that while, nor received other damage beſides eight or nine that were wounded, which yet were carried to their quarters at night at *Hatfield*, whereas if theſe had proceeded in the ſame way of fighting as Capt. *Lothrop* did in the morning, they might have been ſurrounded, and ſo have been ſerved as the former were: but God had otherwiſe determined in his ſecret counſel, and therefore that was hid from the one which was a means to preſerve the other Company.

Other releif alſo was ſeaſonably ſent in, *viz.* a Company of Engliſh, and *Mohegin* or *Pipnod* Indians under the Command of Major *Treat*, who was in the morning marching another way, *viz.* up toward *Squakheag* to ſeek after the enemy that way, with about an hundred ſouldiers, Indians and Engliſh, upon whoſe approach the enemy, pretty well acquainted by this laſt encounter with the valour of the Engliſh, immediately went clear away, giving Major *Treat* and Capt. *Moſely*, who returned to *Dearfield* that night, an opportunity to bury the ſlain the next day. As Capt. *Moſely* came upon the Indians in the morning he found them ſtripping of the ſlain, amongſt whom was one *Robert Dutch* of *Ipſwich*, having been ſorely wounded by a bullet that raſed to his ſkull, and then mauled by the Indian hatchets, left for dead by the Salvages, and ſtript by them of all but his skin, yet when Capt. *Moſely came* near, he almoſt miraculouſly as one raiſed from the dead came towards the Engliſh, to their no ſmall amazement, by whom being received and cloathed, he was carryed off to the next garriſon, and is

living

living & in perfect health at this day. May he be to the friend & relations of the reſt of the ſlain, an emblem of their more perfect reſurrection at the laſt day to receive their crowns among the reſt of the Martyres that have laid down or ventured their lives as a teſtimony to the truth of their Religion, as well as love to their Country.

This ſore defeat of Capt. *Lothrop* and his men, was the more to be lamented, in that (falling out ſo ſoon after two other of the like nature) it ſo emboldned the enemy, that they durſt ſoon after adventure upon conſiderable towns, though well gariſoned with ſouldiers, and gave them occaſion of moſt inſolent Braving the Gariſon at *Dearfield* the next day, hanging up the garments of the Engliſh, in ſight of the Souldiers, yet on the other ſide of the river. However it pleaſed God, who is alwayes wont to remember his people in their low eſtate, to put ſuch a reſtraint upon them, that when they paſſed very near the Gariſon houſe at *Dearfield* (wherein were not left above twenty ſeven ſouldiers) their Captain uſing this ſtratagem, to cauſe his trumpet to ſound as if he had another troop near by to be called together, they turned another way and made no attempt upon the houſe where that ſmall number was, which if they had done with any ordinary reſolution, ſo ſmall an handfull of men could hardly have withſtood the force of ſo many hundreds as were then gathered together.

What loſs the Enemy ſuſtained by the reſiſtance of Capt. *Lothrop* & his men, (who no doubt being all reſolute young men, and ſeeing they ſhould be forced by the hard law of the ſword to forgoe their lives, held them at as high a rate as they could) is not certainly known. It hath ſince been confeſſed by ſome of the Indians themſelves, that they loſt ninety ſix of their men that day. Capt. *Moſelys* men coming ſuddenly upon them when they were pillaging of the dead, fell upon them with ſuch a ſmart aſſault, that they drove them preſently into a ſwamp following them ſo cloſe, that for ſeven miles together they fought them upon a march, charging them through and through. *Peter Savage* and Leiut. *Pickering* his Leiutenants deſerving no little part of the honour of that dayes Service, being ſometimes called to lead the Company in the front, while Capt *Moſely* took a little breath, who was almoſt melted with labouring, commanding, and leading his men through the mideſt of the enemy.

The Indians gathered together i thoſe parts, appearing ſo numerous, and, as might juſtly be ſuppoſed, growing more confident by ſome of their laſt ſucceſſes, and the number of our men being after this ſad rate diminiſhed, Recruits alſo not being ſuddenly to be expected

pected, at ſo great a diſtance as an hundred miles from all ſupplyes, the Commander in chief with the Officers, ſaw a neceſſity of ſlighting that Gariſon at *Dearfield*, imploying the Forces they had to ſecure and ſtrengthen the three next towns below upon *Connecticut River*. And it was well that counſel was thought upon; for now thoſe wretched Caitiffs begin to talk of great matters, hoping that by degrees they might deſtroy all the towns thereabout, as they had already begun: Their hopes no doubt, were not a little heightned by the acceſſion of *Springfield Indians* to their party, who had in appearance all this time ſtood the firmeſt to the intereſt of the Engliſh of all the reſt in thoſe parts: But they all hanging together, like Serpents eggs, were eaſily perſwaded to joyn with thoſe of *Hadly* (there being ſo near allyance between them; for the Sachem of *Springfield* Indians was the father of *Hadly* Sachem) not only by the ſucceſs of their treacherous and bloud-thirſty companions, but by the ſame inbred malice and antipathy againſt the Engliſh manners and Religion.

The Inhabitants of *Springfield* were not unſenſible of their danger, and therefore had upon the firſt breaking forth of theſe troubles been treating with their Indians, and had received from them the firmeſt aſſurance, and pledges of their faithfulneſs, and friendſhip that could be immagined or deſired, both by Covenant, promiſes and Hoſtages given for ſecurity, ſo as no doubt was left in any of their minds: Yet did theſe faithleſs and ungratefull Monſters plot with *Philips* Indians to burn and deſtroy all *Springfield*, as they had done *Brookfield* before: to that end they ſent cunningly and enticed away the Hoſtages from *Hartford*, where they were, perhaps too ſecurely watched over, a day or two before: Then receiving above three hunderd of *Philips* Indians into their Fort, privately in the night time, ſo as they were neither diſcerned nor ſuſpected: Yea ſo confident were ſuch of the inhabitants as were moſt converſant with the Indians at their Fort, that they would not believe there was any ſuch plot in hand, when it was ſtrangly revealed by one *Toto* an Indian at *Windſor*, better affected to the Engliſh, (about eighteen or twenty miles below *Springfield*, upon the ſame River) and ſo by Poſt tidings thereof brought to *Springfield* the night before; inſomuch that the Lieutenant of the town, *Cooper* by name, was ſo far from believing the Stratagem, that in the morning himſelf with another would venture to ride up to the Fort, to ſee whether things were ſo or no. The Fort was about a mile from the town; when he came within a little thereof; he met theſe bloudy and deceitfull Monſters, newly iſſued out of their *Equus Trojanus* to act their intended miſchief,

they preſently fired upon him diverſe of them, and ſhot him in ſeveral places through the body, yet being a man of ſtout courage, he kept his horſe, till he recovered the next gariſon houſe, his companion they ſhot dead upon the place, by this meanes giving a ſad alarm to the town of their intended miſchief, which was inſtantly fired in all places where there were no Gariſons. The poor people having never an Officer to lead them, being like ſheep ready for the ſlaughter, and no doubt the whole town had been totally deſtroyed, but that a report of the Plot being caryed about over night, Major *Treat* came from *Weſtfield* time enough in a manner for their reſcue, but wanting boates to tranſport his men, could not doe ſo much good as he deſired. Major *Pynchon* coming from *Hadly* with Capt. *Appleton* and what Forces they could bring along with them, thirty two houſes being firſt conſumed, preſerved the reſt of the town from being turned to aſhes, in which the over credulous Inhabitants might now ſee (what before they would not believe at the burning Major *Pynchons* Barns and Stables a few dayes before, to a very great damage of the Owner) the faithleſs and deceitfull friendſhip amongſt thoſe perfidious, cruel and helliſh Monſters.

Amongſt the ruines of the ſaid dwellings, the ſaddeſt to behold was the houſe of Mr. *Pelatiah Glover*, Miniſter of the Town, furniſhed with a brave Library, which he had but newly brought back from a Gariſon wherein it had been for ſome time before ſecured, but as if the danger had been over with them, the ſaid Miniſter a great Student, and an *helluo librorum*, being impatient for want of his Books, brought them back to his great ſorrow, fit for a Bonfire for the proud inſulting enemy. Of all the miſchiefs done by the ſaid enemy before that day, the burn-of this town of *Springfield* did more then any other, diſcover the ſaid Actors to be the children of the Devill, full of all ſubtlety and malice, there having been for about forty years ſo good correſpondence betwixt the Engliſh of that town and the neighbouring Indians; But in them is made good what is ſaid in the Pſalm, that though their words were ſmoother then oyle, yet were they drawn ſwords.

After ſome little time ſpent in gariſoning the place, and helping the Inhabitants to ſecure what they had left, the Engliſh ſouldiers moſt of them returned back to *Hadly* their head-quarters, and Major *Pynchon* being ſo full of incumbrances, by reaſon of the late ſpoyls done to himſelf, and his neighbours at *Springfield*, could not any longer attend the Service of commanding in Chief as he had done before, wherefore being according to his earneſt Requeſt to the Council eaſed of that burden, Capt. *Samuel Appleton* was ordered to ſucceed in taking the charge of

of the Souldiers left in thoſe upper towns, by whoſe induſtry, skill and courage, thoſe towns were preſerved from runing the ſame fate with the reſt, wholy or in part ſo lately turned into aſhes. For the enemy growing very confident by the late ſucceſſes, came with all their fury the nineteenth of *October* following upon *Hatfield*, hoping no leſs then to doe the like miſchief to them, they had newly done to *Springfield*: But according to the good providence of Almighty God, Major *Treat* was newly returned to *Northampton*, Capt. *Moſely* and Capt. *Poole* were then gariſoning the ſaid *Hatfield*, and Capt. *Appleton* for the like end quartering at *Hadly*, when on the ſudden ſeven or eight hundred of the enemy came upon the town in all quarters, having firſt killed or taken two or three of the Scouts belonging to the town, and ſeven more belonging to Capt. *Moſely* his Company: But they were ſo well entertained on all hands where they attempted to break in upon the town, that they found it too hot for them. Major *Appleton* with great courage defending one end of the town, and Capt. *Moſely* as ſtoutly maintaining the middle, and Capt. *Poole* the other end; that they were by the reſolution of the Engliſh inſtantly beaten off, without doing much harm. Capt. *Appletons* Sergeant was mortally wounded juſt by his ſide another bullet paſſing through his own hair, by that whiſper telling him that death was very near, but did him no other harm. Night coming on, it could not be diſcerned what loſs the enemy ſuſtained, diverſe were ſeen to fall, ſome run through a ſmall river, others caſt their guns into the water (it being their manner to venture as much to recover the dead bodyes of their friends, as to defend them when alive)

At laſt after the burning of ſome few barns, with ſome other buildings, the enemy haſted away as faſt as they came on, leaving the Engliſh to bleſs God who had ſo mercifully delivered them from the fury of their mercileſs foes, who had in conceit without doubt, devoured them all: But this reſolute and valiant repulſe, put ſuch a check upon the pride of the enemy, that they made no further attempt upon any of thoſe towns for the preſent, but winter drawing on, they retired all of them to their general rendezvouze at *Narhaganſet*, where we ſhall leave them for the preſent plotting their general deſign of accompliſhing their intended miſchief againſt the Engliſh the next Spring.

Our Weſtern Plantations upon *Connecticut River*, were the ſtage whereon were acted the moſt remarkable paſſages of this barbarous War hitherto, which was ſoon after removed into many other places of the Country in the Winter and Spring following, whither our diſcourſe muſt in the next place purſue it: There was not any

great matter acted by the Enemy amongſt the Plantations upon the great River during the Winter, after the aſſault made upon *Hatfield* *October* 19. It is evident that the body of them returned to *Narrhaganſet* upon the approach of the Winter, which ſet in more early then it uſed in other years: where *Philip* did beſtow himſelf in the winter ſeaſon is not ſo certain, ſome ſay that he repaired further weſtward, to try his fortune with thoſe Indians that ly towards *Albany*, near the *Dutch River*: others more probably conceive that he lay hid in ſome part of the *Narrhaganſet Country*; for though he was not certainly known to be about the Fort at *Narrhaganſet*, when it was taken by our Forces in the winter, yet as ſoon as ever they were driven out of the Country in *February*, he was found amongſt them that did the miſchief at *Lancaſter* in that month.

Some ſtragling parties of them remained about *North-Hampton*, *Weſtfield & Springfield* ſome time after their defeat at *Hatfield*; ſeven or eight of the Inhabitants of *North-Hampton* in the end of *October*, venturing to fetch in ſome of their Harveſt, that was left ſomewhere out of the Town, were in danger of being ſurpriſed, having laid their Arms under their Cart, ſo as being deſtitute of means to make their defence, they were glad to fly away with the Horſes out of their Cart, leaving what they were about to the pleaſure of the Indians that aſſaulted. Major *Treat* upon the hearing the Alarm, preſently repaired thither, but could not come time enough to deſtroy any of the Enemy, nor yet to prevent their burning of four or five Houſes, with two or three Barns that ſtood ſomewhat out of the Town. Within a little time after they kill'd three of the ſame Town, as they were at work in a Meadow not far from the Town: they intended alſo to have burned the Mill, but it was too well guarded by two files of Muſketiers lodged there for the purpoſe, who put them beſide their intent, Six or ſeven of *Springfield* ſoon after going to the Mill at *weſtfield* (that which belonged to their own Town being burned *October* 5th.) and venturing without Arms, three of them were killed by ſome of the Enemy, who took the advantage alſo to burn four or five Houſes that belonged to the ſaid *weſtfield*: but by the end of *November* the coaſt was pritty clear of them, unleſs ſome few of them that lay lurking in the Swamps thereabouts all the winter, doing ſome ſmall miſchief upon ſome out-dwellings of *Springfield*.

The expedition into the *Narrhaganſet Country* follows in order in the next place to be related; but before we come thither, a little notice muſt be taken by the way, of an unſucceſsful attempt upon the Indians

about

about *Haſſanemeſit & Poppachuog*, whither Capt. *Henchman* was ſent in the beginning of *November*; where alſo Captain *Sill* was ordered to meet him with another Company from *Cambridge*, with intent to have beat up the Indians quarters in thoſe parts: they being known to have had an hand in the outrages committed upon thoſe that belonged to *Malberough* and *Mendham*; cutting off the ſcalp of a millers Boy, who is yet alive.

November 1. 1675. Capt. *Henchman* marched out of *Boſton* intending to viſit the Indians about *Haſſanemeſit*: the third day they ſaw ſome fires of the Indians, yet could not meet with them that made them: the 4th day they marched to ſome part of the Indian Plantations called *Haſſanemeſit*: the Captain would have taken up his quarters a mile on this ſide, but ſome of his Officers over-ruled him, to whoſe importunity he gave way, and marched a mile further towards the Enemy, and by that means ſaved the Millers youth, taken the week before from *Malberough*; for in the morning very early, as the Scouts were looking out, they ſpyed a Wigwam, where ſome Indians that had carried away the youth, had lodged all night in ſome Wigwam near by, when the Indians ſaw our Souldiers, they haſted away, and left the *Malberough* youth behind them, who by that means eſcaped their hands. Our men under Capt. *Henchman* marched on to *Poppachuog*, and finding the Indians all fled, (although they perceived by a Meſſenger accidentally ſent back, that the Indians followed them all that way they marched) they came back to *Mendham* to ſettle things in that Town: ſome of the Inhabitants informed them of ſome Indian Wigwams about ten miles off: the Captain with *Philip Curtice* his Lieutenant, reſolved to give them a camiſado in their Wigwams that night: to that end, they mounted two and twenty upon Horſes, riding up ten miles into the Woods, and when they came near the Wigwams, they diſmounted, and intended preſently to march up, and give an aſſault upon them, after they had firſt made a ſhout to fright the Enemy: they ordered one half to follow the Lieutenant, the other to follow the Captain, when they came within a quarter of a mile of the place, their Dogs began to bark, at which they ſtop'd, and by and by marching again, intended preſently to fire in upon them, but the Captains foot ſlipping, he could hardly recover himſelf, when ſuddenly looking behind him, he ſaw no man following of him: the Lieutenant had five behind him, who with thoſe five reſolutely fired on that ſide he was appointed to make the aſſault upon, but they were repulſed by the *Indians*, who firing out of their dens, ſhot down the Lieutenant and another, the reſt preſently ran away to a fence: the Captain with all

vehemency urged them to ſtay, they replied, they went back but only to charge, yet went clear away, by which means, together with the cowardize of the former, ſo ſad a loſs befell the Company, which could not eaſily be repaired: however the Enemy preſently deſerted the Wigwam and gave our men the next day an opportunity to fetch off their two dead men, and bury them, and ſo with grief and ſhame were conſtrained to return to their quarters at *Mendham*, to whoſe Inhabitants they gave notice of 200 buſhels of Corn belonging to the Indians, that might have been preſerved, which for want of hands was loſt by the fire, that the Enemy might not be benefited thereby. It appears by the foregoing paſſage, that the time of our deliverance was not yet come, and that God had further tryals to acquaint us with before he would turn his hand upon our Enemies. But it pleaſed the Lord in mercy ſo to order things, that they themſelves fell into that pit they were digging for others, as ſhall appear more fully in what follows.

The Engliſh Plantations about *Hadly* being for the preſent ſet a little at liberty by the Indians drawing off, like Seamen after a Storm, counted it their beſt courſe to repair their tackling againſt another that may be next coming, wherefore the Inhabitants concluded it the ſafer way to make a kind of Barricado about their Towns, by ſetting up Pallizadoes or cleft wood about eight foot long, as it were to break the force of any ſudden aſſault which the *Indians* might make upon them; which counſel proved very ſucceſsful; for although it be an inconſiderable defence againſt a Warlike Enemy, that hath ſtrength enough, and confidence to beſiege a place, yet it is ſufficient to prevent any ſudden aſſault of ſuch a timerous and barbarous Enemy as theſe were, for although they did afterwards in the Spring break through thoſe Pallizadoes at *North-Hampton*, yet as ſoon as ever they began to be repulſed, they ſaw themſelves like Wolves in a Pound, that they could not fly away at their pleaſure, ſo as they never adventured to break through afterward upon any of the Towns ſo ſecured.

As for thoſe of *Springfield*, they were now and then Alarmed with a few skulking Indians lurking about in the adjacent Woods; as once at the Long Meadow, where half a ſcore of them were ſeen about an houſe remote from the Town, who were purſued by a party of the Engliſh toward *Windſor*, and ſo eſcaped, after the Engliſh had made one ſhot upon them, not knowing certainly how many they killed. So at another time, a few of thoſe barbarous wretches kill'd a poor man belonging to *Springfield*, as he was going to his houſe to look after his Corn on the other ſide of the River, and after they had killed the man, they burnt

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down his houſe; yet attempted no further miſchief upon that part of the Town that had eſcaped the fury of the Flames, *October* 5. By which it is evident, that all the number of Indians that had aſſaulted them before, had not drawn themſelves for the preſent to their winter quarters, ſome to the *Dutch River*, but the greateſt number of them to be ſure were found in the winter at the *Narrhaganſet Fort*, where we ſhall leave them for the preſent till the Forces of the United Colonies ſhall fire them out of their neſts.

The Souldiers continuing ſome time at *Hatfield* after this victory, as we may well call it (for it ſeems to have given the firſt check to the rage of the heathen within the Jurisdiction of the united Colonyes, they have been obſerved ever ſince to have been on the loſing hand, ſeldome or never daring to meet our Souldiers in the open Field, unleſs when they have very great advantage as to their numbers, or covert of the woods and buſhes: although like ſome ranging Beaſts they have done much miſchief ſeveral times ſince, when they were ready to expire or when the pangs of death were coming upon them) our forces therefore being all called home, ſave ſome left for gariſoning the towns thereabouts.

The Commiſſioners of the united Colonyes taking into ſerious Conſideration the preſent ſtate of things, *viz.* that there were before this time ſo many hundreds gathered together into one Body, and that there was great reaſon to fear, if they were let alone till the next ſpring they might all riſe together as one man round about us, and that one Town after another might eaſily be deſtroyed, before any help could be diſpatched to them. On the one hand the ſharpneſs of the winter in theſe parts was well weighed, ſo extream that it might hazard the loſs of a thouſand men in one night, if they were forced to lodge abroad in the open field, as alſo the difficulty, if not impoſſibility of ſending any relief to them at any diſtance, the depth of ſnow uſually making the wayes unpaſſable for diverſe months together.

On the other hand it was conſidered, that if the enemy were let alone till the next ſummer, it would be impoſſible to deal with them, or find them any where, but they might waſte one company of Souldiers after another, as was ſeen by the experience of the former year. Conſidering alſo that the *Narhaganſets*, the moſt numerous of all the reſt, and the beſt provided of proviſion of all the other Indians, had now declared themſelves our enemyes, who if they were let alone till the winter was over, we ſhould be unable to deal with ſo many enemyes at once, that could on a ſudden on any occaſion ſpread themſelves like graſhoppers all over the Country.

It was therefore finally agreed upon by the general conſent of all, to to fall upon the winter quarters of our enemyes, by a more conſiderable Army (if I may ſo call it) gathered out of all the three Colonyes, and that with all expedition, at fartheſt not to exceed the tenth of *December* before they ſhould have a thouſand men in arms ready for the deſigne.

As for the late League made or rather renewed with the *Narhaganſets*, it was ſufficiently evident & known, that they had all along from the firſt day when it was confirmed broken every article of it, ſpecially in not delivering up the enemyes which had ſheltered themſelves with them all this while, which though they did not poſitively deny, yet did nothing but find excuſes, to defer it one week after another, till at the laſt they would be excuſed till the next Spring, upon pretence that they could not before that time get them together. Beſide the favouring of thoſe that fled to them, and ſupplying the whole Body of the enemy with victuals, upon all occaſions. It was likewiſe ſtrongly ſuſpected that in all the late proceedings of the enemy, many of their young men were known to be actually in arms againſt us, many of whom were found either wounded amongſt them in their wigwams, or elſe were occaſionally ſeen returning back, after exploits abroad, to be healed of their wounds at home. Alſo ſome of our mens guns that were loſt at *Dearfield* were found in the Fort when it was fired. Therefore all ſcruples as to the juſtneſs and neceſſity of the war being removed, the only queſtion was, whether it were feaſible and expedient in the winter. The exigent was very great, and the choyce very hard: But as David when he was ſtreightened with many difficultyes at once, choſe rather to fall into the hands of God whoſe mercyes were great, though he might be provoked to cauſe his jealouſie to ſmoak againſt thoſe of his own heritage for a time: ſo in this exigent it was generally conceived to be moſt expedient for the Country, to caſt themſelves upon the providence of a mercifull and gracious God, rather then by delayes to expoſe themſelves to the treachery and cruelty of a perfidious enemy.

A War therefore ſpeedily to be carryed on in the very depth of winter, being agreed upon, care was taken for ſupplyes, as the difficulty of ſuch an affair ſo circumſtanced did require, though poſſibly not with ſo much neceſſary care, and ſo ſuitable proviſion, as had been deſired, if what came afterward to paſs could have been foreſeen (which peradventure might be the reaſon things went on ſo heavily for want of well oyling the wheels) in the mean time a ſmall Army of a thouſand fighting men, well appointed, were ordered by the Commiſſioners to

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be gathered by proportion out of all the Colonyes; of which number the ſhare of the *Maſſachuſets* was to be five hundred and twenty ſeven, the reſt were to be ſupplyed out of *Plimouth* and *Connecticut* Colonyes, All other ſupplyes were taken care for, as well as the ſuddenneſs of the Expedition, and difficulty of the ſeaſon would allow. The ſaid thouſand men, beſide ſome Voluntiers of Indian Friends, were by the time and place appointed as near as could be had, called together, and a Commiſſion granted to the honourable *Joſiah Winſlow* Eſq, the preſent Governour of *Plimouth Colony*, a man of known ability and integrity, every way ſo well qualified with courage and Reſolution, as well as prudence and diſcretion, as might have preferred him to the conduct of a far greater Army then ever is like to be gathered together in this part of the world, in this or in following Generations. And indeed as he was the firſt Governour over any of the united Colonyes in *New-England* of them that were born in the place, ſo may he well paſs for a pattern of any of the ſucceeding race, that may come after.

Under him as Commander in Chief were ordered ſix Companyes from the *Maſſachuſets*, under the Command of Major *Appleton*, Capt. *Moſely*, Capt. *Gardener*, Capt. *Davenport*, Capt. *Oliver*, Capt. *Johnſon*, Five Companyes from *Connecticut* under Major *Treat*, Capt. *Siely*, Capt. *Gallop*, Capt. *Maſon*, Capt. *Wats*, and Capt. *Marſhal*, Two Companyes from *Plimouth*, under Major *Bradford* and Capt. *Goram*.

Under the Governour of *Plimouth* as Commander in Chief in this Expedition, were ſent as Majors of the Forces belonging to each Colony, Major *Robert Treat* for the Forces belonging to *Connecticut*, and Major *Bradford* for thoſe of the Colony of *Plimouth*, and Major *Samuel Appleton* for thoſe of the *Maſſachuſets*, to whom by the honourable Major General of the ſaid Colony were ſix Companyes of Foot delivered at *Dedham*, *December* the 9*th*. 1675, containing in number 465 fighting men, beſides a Troop of Horſe under the Command of Capt. *Thomas Prentice* attending upon them. That night they marched to *Woodcocks* about 27. miles from *Dedham*. The next night they arrived at *Seaconck*; Capt. *Moſely* and his Company went from thence with Mr. *Smith* by water, the reſt ferried over the water to *Providence*.

The next day, *Decemb*. the 12*th*. they paſſed over *Patuxet River*, and then marching through *Pombams Country*, at night they met with Capt. *Moſely* and his Company at Mr. *Smiths* in *Wickford*, the place intended for their Head-quarters. Capt. *Moſely* in his way thither had happily ſurpriſed thirty ſix Indians, one of whom he took along with him as a Guide, *Peter* by name, that was at that time under ſome diſguſt with his

Country-men, or his Sachem, which made him prove the more real friend to our forces in that ſervice, wherein he faithfully performed what he promiſed, and without his aſſiſtance our men would have been much at a loſs to have found the enemy, until it had been too late to have fought them.

Two dayes after, *Decemb.* 14. Five Files of men ſent out under Serjeant *Bennet* and another, upon the Scout, kill'd one man and one woman, and brought in four more by one of the clock: the whole Company marched after into ſome of the Sachems Country, where they burnt an hundred and fifty Wigwams, killed ſeven of the enemy, and brought in eight Priſoners when they returned at night.

The next day an Indian called *Stone-wall-John* pretended to come from the Sachems, intimating their willingneſs to have peace with the Engliſh, yet could the Meſſenger hardly forbear threatning, vapouring of their numbers and ſtrength, adding withall that the Engliſh durſt not fight them: whatever were pretended by this treacherous fellow, ſome of his Crew as he went home met with ſome of Capt. *Gardners* men, that were ſtragling about their own buſineſs contrary to order, and ſlew his Serjeant, with one or two more. Two alſo of Capt. *Olivers* men were killed in like manner; a ſolemn warning for Souldiers not to be too venterous in an enemyes Country. For preventing the like miſchief upon other Companyes, more care was taken as they paſſed to the Headquarters, ſome of the Companyes being lodged three miles there from. Capt. *Moſelyes*, Capt. *Davenports* and Capt. *Olivers* Company being alſo ſent about that time to bring Major *Appletons* Company to the general Quarters, a few deſperate Indians creeping under a ſtone wall near the place, fired twenty or thirty gunns at *Moſely* in particular, a Commander well known amongſt them, but the reſt of the Company running down upon them, killed one of them, and ſcattered the reſt.

The next day Capt. *Prentice* with his Troop, being ſent to *Petequamſcot*, returned with the ſad news of burning *Jerry Bulls* Gariſon houſe, and killing ten Engliſh men and five women and children, but two eſcaping in all. This is the chance of warr which they who undertake, muſt prepare to undergoe.

The next day brought from the ſame place a little better news, though not enough to ballance the ſorrow of the former, *viz.* that *Connecticut* Forces were come thither with three hundred Engliſh, and an hundred and fifty *Mohegins*, ready fixed to warr on the behalf of the Engliſh againſt the *Narhaganſets* their mortal enemyes; and by the way meeting a Party of the enemy, they ſlew five or ſix of them and took as many

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Priſoners. The whole number of all our Forces being now come, the want of proviſion with the ſharpneſs of the cold, minded them of expedition, wherefore the very next day, the whole Body of the *Maſſachuſet* and *Plimouth* Forces marched away to *Pettyquamſcot* intending to engage the enemy upon the firſt opportunity that next offered it ſelf: To the which reſolution thoſe of *Connecticut* preſently conſented, as ſoon as they met together, which was about five a clock in the afternoon: *Bulls* houſe intended for their general Rendezvouze, being unhappily burnt down two or three days before, there was no ſhelter left either for Officer or private Souldier, ſo as they were neceſſitated to march on toward the enemy through the ſnow, in a cold ſtormy evening, finding no other defence all that night, ſave the open air, nor other covering then a cold and moiſt fleece of ſnow. Through all theſe difficultyes they marched from the break of the next day, *December* 19. till one of the clock in the afternoon, without either fire to warm them, or reſpite to take any food, ſave what they could chew in their march. Thus having waded fourteen or fifteen mile through the Country of the old Queen, or *Sunke Squaw* of *Narhaganſet*: they came at one a clock upon the edge of the Swamp where their guide aſſured them they ſhould find Indians enough before night.

Our Forces chopping thus upon the ſeat of the enemy, upon the ſudden, they had no time either to draw up in any order or form of Battle, nor yet opportunity to conſult where or how to aſſault. As they marched Capt. *Moſely* and Capt. *Davenport* led the Van, Major *Appleton* and Capt. *Oliver* brought up the Reer of the *Maſſachuſet* Forces; General *Winſlow* with the *Plimouth* Forces marched in the Centre; thoſe of *Connecticut* came up in the Reer of the whole Body: But the Frontiers diſcerning Indians in the edge of the Swamp, fired immediately upon them, who anſwering our men in the ſame Language, retired preſently into the Swampe, our men followed them in amayne, without ſtaying for the word of Command, as if every one were ambitious who ſhould goe firſt, never making any ſtand till they came to the ſides of the Fort, into which the Indians that firſt fired upon them betook themſelves.

It ſeems that there was but one entrance into the Fort, though the enemy found many wayes to come out, but neither the Engliſh nor their Guide well knew on which ſide the entrance lay; nor was it eaſie to have made another; wherefore the good providence of Almighty God is the more to be acknowledged, who as he led *Iſrael* ſometime by the Pillar of fire, and the Cloud of his preſence a right way through the Wilderneſs, ſo did he now direct our Forces upon that ſide of the Fort, where

they might only enter though not without utmoſt danger, and hazard. The Fort was raiſed upon a kind of Iſland of five or ſix acres of riſing land in the midſt of a Swamp; the ſides of it were made of palizadoes ſet upright the which was compaſſed about with an hedge of almoſt a rod thickneſs, through which there was no paſſing, unleſs they could have fired a way through, which then they had no time to doe. The place where the Indians uſed ordinarily to enter themſelves, was over a long tree over a place of water, where but one man could enter at a time, & which was ſo way-laid that they would have been cut off that had ventured there: But at one corner there was a Gap made up only with a long tree, about four or five foot from the ground, over which men might eaſily paſs: But they had placed a kind of a Block houſe right over againſt the ſaid tree, from whence they ſorely galled our men that firſt entred, ſome being ſhot dead upon the tree, as Capt. *Johnſon*, and ſome as ſoon as they entred, as was Capt. *Davenport*, ſo as they that firſt entred were forced preſently to retire, and fall upon their bellyes till the fury of the enemyes ſhot was pretty well ſpent, which, ſome Companyes that did not diſcern the danger, nor obſerving, loſt ſundry of their men, but at the laſt two Companyes being brought up beſides the four that firſt marched up, they animated one another to make another aſſault, one of the Commanders crying out, *They run, they run*, which did ſo encourage the Souldiers that they preſently entred amain. After a conſiderable number were well entred, they preſently beat the enemy out of a Flanker on the left hand, which did a little ſhelter our men from the enemyes ſhot, till more Company came up, and ſo by degrees made up higher, firſt into the middle, and then into the upper end of the Fort, till at the laſt they made the enemy all retire from their Sconces, and fortified places, leaving multitudes of their dead Bodyes upon the place. *Connecticut* Souldiers marching up in the Reer, being not aware of the dangerous paſſage over the tree, in Command of the enemyes Block-houſe, were at their firſt entrance many of them ſhot down, although they came on with as gallant reſolution as any of the reſt under the conduct of their wiſe and valiant Leader, Major *Treat*.

The brunt of the Battle, or danger that day lay moſt upon the Commanders, whoſe parr it was to lead on their ſeveral Companies in the very face of Death, or elſe all had been loſt; ſo as all of them with great valour and reſolution of minde, as not at all afraid to dy in ſo good a cauſe, bravely led on their men in that deſperate aſſault, leaving their lives in the place as the beſt teſtimony of their valour, and of love to the cauſe of God and their Country: No leſs then ſix brave Captains fell

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that day in the aſſault, *viz.* Capt. *Davenport*, Capt. *Gardner*, Capt. *Johnſon* of the *Maſſachuſets*, beſides Lieutenant *Upham*, who died ſome months after of his wounds received at that time. Capt. *Gallop* alſo, and Capt. *Siely*, and Capt. *Marſhal* were ſlain of thoſe that belonged to *Connecticut* Colony. It is uſually ſeen that the valour of the Souldiers is much wrapped up in the lives of their Commanders, yet was it found here, that the Souldiers were rather enraged then diſcouraged by the loſs of their Commanders, which made them redouble their Courage, and not give back after they were entred the ſecond time, till they had driven out their Enemies: So as after much blood and many wounds dealt on both ſides, the Engliſh ſeeing their advantage, began to fire the Wigwams, where was ſuppoſed to be many of the Enemies Women and Children deſtroyed, by the firing of at leaſt five or ſix hundred of thoſe ſmoaky Cells.

It is reported by them that firſt entred the *Indians Fort*, that our Souldiers came upon them when they were ready to dreſs their Dinner, but our ſudden, and unexpected aſſault put them beſides that work, making their Cookrooms too hot for them at that time, when they and their Mitchin fryed together: and probably ſome of them eat their Suppers in a colder place that night: moſt of their Proviſion as well as their Hutts being then conſumed with fire, and thoſe that were left alive forced to hide themſelves in a Cedar Swamp, not far off, where they had nothing to defend them from the cold but Boughs of Sprnee and Pine Trees: for after two or three hours fight, the Engliſh became Maſters of the place, but not judging it tenable, after they had burned all they could ſet fire upon, they were forced to retreat, after the Day-light was almoſt quite ſpent, and were neceſſitated to retire to their quarters, full fifteen or ſixteen miles off, ſome ſay more, whither with their Dead and Wounded men they were to march, a difficulty ſcarce to be believed, as not to be paralleld almoſt in any former age.

It is hard to ſay who acquitted themſelves beſt in that dayes ſervice, either the Souldiers for their manlike valour in fighting, or the Commanders for their wiſdome and courage leading on in very face of death. There might one have ſeen the whole Body of that little Regimental Army, as buſie as Bees in a Hive, ſome bravely fighting with the Enemy, others haling off, and carrying away the Dead and Wounded Men (which I rather note) that none may want the due teſtimony of their valour and faithfulneſs, though all ought to ſay, *not unto us, but unto thy Name, O Lord*, &c.

For though there might not be above three or four hundred at any

time within the Fort at once, yet the reſt in their turns came up to do what the exigence of the ſervice required in bringing off the Dead and Wounded men: The Major of the Regiment, together with Captain *Moſely*, was very ſerviceable, for by that means the Fort being clear of the Dead bodies, it ſtruck a greater terrour into the Enemy, to ſee but eight or ten dead bodies of the Engliſh left, then to meet with ſo many hundreds of their own ſlain and wounded Carkaſſes. The number of the ſlain was not then known on the Enemies ſide, becauſe our Men were forced to leave them on the ground: but our victory was found afterwards to be much more conſiderable then at the firſt was apprehended; for although our loſs was very great, not only becauſe of the deſperateneſs of the attempt it ſelf) in ſuch a ſeaſon of the year, and at ſuch a diſtance from our quarters, whereby many of our wounded men periſhed, which might otherwiſe have been preſerved, if they had not been forced to march ſo many miles in a cold ſnowy night, before they could be dreſſed) yet the Enemy loſt ſo many of their principal fighting men, their Proviſion alſo was by the burning of their Wigwams, ſo much of it ſpoiled, at the taking of their Fort, and by ſurprizing ſo much of their Corn about that time alſo; that it was the occaſion of their total ruine afterwards: they being at that time driven away from their habitations, and put by from Planting for that next year, as well as deprived of what they had in ſtore for the preſent winter. What numbers of the Enemy were ſlain is uncertain, it was confeſſed by one *Potock* a great Councellor amongſt them, afterwards taken at *Road-Iſland*, and put to Death at *Boſton*, that the Indians loſt ſeven hundred fighting men that day, beſides three hundred that dyed of their Wounds the moſt of them: the number of old men, women and children, that periſhed either by fire, or that were ſtarved with hunger and cold, none of them could tell. There was above eighty of the Engliſh ſlain, and a hundred and fifty wounded, that recovered afterwards.

There were ſeveral circumſtances in this Victory very remarkable.

Firſt, The meeting with one *Peter* a fugitive Indian, that upon ſome diſcontent, flying from the *Narrhaganſets*, offered himſelf to the ſervice of the Engliſh, and did faithfully perform what he promiſed, *viz.* to lead them to the Swamp where the Indians had ſeated themſelves within a Fort raiſed upon an Iſland of firm Earth, in the midſt of a Swamp, whither none of the Engliſh could have Piloted them, without his aſſiſtance, the place being near eighteen miles from the place where they were quartered.

Secondly, There being by a ſpecial providence directed juſt to a place where

where they found ſo eaſie entrance, which if they had miſſed they could never have made a way through the Hedge, with which they had ſurrounded the Pallizadoes of the Fort in half a dayes time.

And *Thirdly*, If they had entred by the way left by the Indians for paſſage, they might have been cut off, before they could have come near their Fortification.

Laſtly, In directing their motion, to begin the Aſſault juſt at the day they did, for if they had deferred but a day longer, there fell ſuch a ſtorm of Snow the next day, that they could not have paſſed through it, in divers weeks after: And then on the ſudden there fell ſuch a Thaw, that melted away both Ice and Snow, ſo that if they had deferred till that time, they could have found no paſſage into their fortified place.

All which conſiderations put together, make it a ſignal favour of God to carry them through ſo many difficulties to accompliſh their deſired end. For after they were retired from their quarters, but ſixteen miles from that place, there was ſo great want of Proviſion, the Veſſels being frozen in at the Harbour about *Cape Cod*, that ſhould have brought them relief, and the Froſt and Snow ſet in ſo violently, that it was not poſſible for them, with all the Force they could make (ſo many of their ableſt Souldiers being ſlain and wounded) to have made another onſet; But the goodneſs of Almighty God was moſt of all to be admired, that notwithſtanding, all the hardſhip they indured that winter, in very cold Lodgings, hard Marches, Scarcity of Proviſion, yet not one man was known to dy by any diſeaſe or bodily diſtemper, ſave them that periſhed of their wounds.

Our Forces being compelled by the foreſaid occaſions, to ly ſtill ſome Weeks after, hoping alſo that the Enemy ſo ſorely broken, would gladly have ſued for peace: But as was ſaid of old, *God hardned their hearts to their own ruine and deſtruction afterwards.* For as ſoon as our Souldiers were able to March, finding that all the Enemies overtures of peace, and prolonging of treaties, was only to gain time that they might get away into the Woods. They purſued after them, and ſometimes came upon their Rear, but then they would immediately fly an hundred wayes at once into Swamps, ſo as our men could not follow them, or if they did, could not ſee two of them together; ſo that now there was little good like to be done, unleſs they could take them at ſome advantage. At length having ſpent all their Proviſion, and tiring themſelves in purſuing of them ſixty or ſeventy miles, up through the Woods towards *Malberough* and *Lancaſter*, Towns that ly in the Road to *Connecticot*, having killed and taken near ſeventy of them: our Souldiers were ordered to

return towards *Boſton*, to recruit themſelves, ſuppoſing that the *Narrhaganſets*, and thoſe with them were ſo enfeebled that they would have no mind ſuddenly to aſſault any of the Engliſh Towns.

If any deſire a more particular account of the loſs which we ſuſtaind at the taking of the *Narhaganſet* Fort, *December* 19*th*. 1665. they may take it as here it followes.

Beſides the ſix Captains mentioned before, that either were ſlain in the aſſault, or dyed afterwards of their wounds, to whom may be reckoned Lieut. *Upham*, that dyed lately at *Boſton*, of the wounds he then received.

There were ſlain out of the Company belonging to	Major *Appleton*.	3.	Wounded.		22.
	Capt. *Moſely*.	9.		10.	
	Capt. *Oliver*.	5.		10.	
	Capt. *Gardener*.	7.		11.	
	Capt. *Johnſon*.	3.		11.	
	Capt. *Davenport*.	4.		15.	
	in all,	31.		in all	79.

There were ſlain and wounded.	Of *New-haven* Company,	20.
	Of Capt. *Siely* his Company.	20.
	Of Capt. *Wats* his Company.	17.
	Of Capt. *Marſhal* his Company,	14.
	Of *Plimouth* Company under Major *Bradford* and Capt. *Goram*.	20.
	In all,	91.

If there had not been ſo great a diſtance between the place of the fight and their Quarters, and ſo much cold attending them in their retiring thereunto, ſome better account might have been given of that expedition, then now they were able to do. For a March of ſixteen or eighteen miles is too much to breathe a freſh Souldier, unleſs he were well mounted, but enough to kill the heart of them that have been wearied with a long and tedious fight. As for the coldneſs of the weather, although it be a good Beſome to ſweep the Chamber of the Air (which might be the reaſon there was no more Diſeaſes amongſt them) yet it is an unwelcome Companion to wearied, eſpecially to wounded men, in ſo long a Retreat.

But the want of Proviſion falling in conjunction with the unſeaſonableneſs of the Weather, and length of the way hindred our Forces from

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any new attempt upon the enemy, which if they could have attended, it was thought it might have put an end to our troubles; but he that holdeth the ſcales of victory in his hand, turneth them to which ſide, and by what degrees pleaſeth himſelf beſt.

The reſt of the winter was ſpent in fruitleſs Treaties about a peace, both ſides being well wearied with the late deſperate Fight, were willing to refreſh themſelves the remaining part of the winter, with the ſhort ſlumber of a pretended peace, at leaſt with a talk or Dream thereof: our Commanders aim therein was Chriſtian and good, if it had proceeded, *ſc.* to have prevented the ſhedding of more bloud: And poſſibly ſome of the elder and wiſer of the enemy, did really deſire what was pretended by them all, (for they had now full proof of the valour and reſolution of the *Engliſh*, which ſome of them upon former ſucceſſes might be ready to queſtion) and they could not but ſee their deſtruction already begun, in the loſs of their dwellings, and all their proviſion, as well as the ſlaughter of the beſt part of their fighting men; but either through conſciouſneſs of their barbarous treachery, and falſhood they could not truſt others, and ſo were willing to run the utmoſt hazard, as people hardned to their own deſtruction. The particular paſſages of the treaty being carried on by the enemy only in pretence, and by our men (that ſoon diſcerned their fraud) rather out of neceſſity, to conceal their incapacity of engaging them anew, then any real expectation of a good effect, are not worthy the relating. However though the Foot were unable to doe any Service in the depth of the ſnow, & ſharpneſs of the cold, The Troop was ſent out upon all occaſions to ſcout about the Country, who brought in daily much of the enemies corn and Beans, which they had hid in Barns under the ground, or at leaſt kept them from making uſe of their own proviſion, or ſpoiling the Engliſh Cattle; now and then alſo bringing in Priſoners from their Quarters, as they were ſtragling about to get victuals.

On the twenty ſeventh of *December*, Capt. *Prentice* was ſent into *Pombams Country*, where they burnt near an hundred Wigwams, but found never an *Indian* in any of them.

On the 28*th*, of *December* a Squaw was ſent to them, who had been taken in the Fight, with a proffer of Peace, if they would ſubmit to ſuch Tearms as were propounded; the principal of which was, the delivering up all *Philips* Indians that were with them; The Squaw returned not pretending that ſhe was lame and unable to come again, but the thirtieth of *December*, an Indian came from the Sachems with ſeeming thanks for the peace profered, yet complained, we made war upon them and gave

them no notice, but his mouth was ſoon ſtopped, by the anſwer which was made him: he owned, as the Squaw had ſaid before, that they loſt three hundred of their beſt fighting men, and ſo did two Priſoners of theirs taken *January* the 4*th*, whereof one being of *Philips* Company was put to death. The Meſſenger that was ſent was fairly diſmiſſed, with the expreſs mention of what tearms they muſt expect, if they deſired a peace.

Jan. There came two Meſſengers from them, as they ſaid to make way for a treaty of Peace, who laid the blame upon *Canonchet*, that came down to *Boſton*, in *October* laſt, to confirm the peace with the Commiſſioners of the united Colonyes, as if he had miſinformed them, *viz.* that they were not by the former treaty to have delivered up the *Wompanoogs*, or *Philips Indians*, untill the ſaid *Canonchets* Brother one of the Hoſtages at *Hartford*, was releaſed. This was but a meer pretence, for he and they too better underſtood the particulars of the agreement: For by chance the Articles which they had of the peace concluded with them were found open (whether purpoſely or accidentally was not known) in a Wigwam in the Fort when it was taken, ſo as they could not be ignorant of the Articles of the Agreement

Jan. 5. An Engliſh child of about three or four years old, taken from *Warwick*, was ſent in to put the better pretence upon the treaty mentioned.

Jan. 8. The Meſſengers were ſent back, and told what they muſt truſt to. In the afternoon a Meſſenger came from *Ninigret* the old Sachem of *Narrhaganſets*, who brought a letter from Mr. *Stanton* the Interpreter, ſignifying the reallity of the ſaid *Ninigret* his friendſhip to the Engliſh, and the ſtreights of the enemy, that corn was two ſhillings a pint with them. Yet notwithſtanding all their difficultyes, they rather delayed the time till they could get away, then really endeavoured the making a peace, as was ſoon manifeſt: For that young inſolent Sachem *Canonchet*, and *Panoquin*, ſaid they would fight it out to the laſt man, rather then they would become Servants to the Engliſh.

Jan. 10. Freſh ſupplyes of ſouldiers came up from *Boſton*, wading through a ſharp ſtorm of ſnow, that bit ſome of them by the heels with the froſt. The next day one that came with them going out with the Scouts, fell amongſt the Indians Barns, in one of which, as he was groping to find corn for the relief of his horſe, he catched hold of an Indians hair under the leaves, who preſently held up his hands, when the ſouldier was drawing his ſword, to ſpare his life, which was granted, but after he was brought to the Head-quarters, he would owne nothing but

but what was forced out of his mouth, by the woolding of his head with a cord, wherefore he was presently judged to dye as a *Wompanoog*.

Jan. 12. Another Messenger came from *Canonicus*, desiring the space of a month longer, wherein to issue the treaty, which so provoked the Commander of our Forces, that they resolved to have no more Treatyes with the enemy, but prepare to assault them, with Gods assistance as soon as ever the season would permit; and it was high time to take up that resolution, for within a few dayes after, they understood by some that were taken Prisoners, that the enemy were gone, or going into the *Nipmuck Country*.

Within a few dayes after, about the 16*th*. *Jan.* the scouts brought in one *Joshuah Tift* a Renegado English-man, of *Providence*, that upon some discontent amongst his neighbours, had turned Indian, married one of the *Indian Squaws*, renounced his Religion, nation and natural Parents all at once, fighting against them. He was taken by Capt. *Fenner* of *Providence*, who with some of his neighbours were pursuing some *Indians* that had driven away their Cattle, This *Tift* being one of the Company was wounded in the knee, and so was seized by the English: he had in his habit conformed himself to them amongst whom he lived. After examination he was condemned to dy the death of a Traitor. As to his Religion he was found as ignorant as an Heathen, which no doubt caused the fewer tears to be shed at his Funeral, standers by being unwilling to lavish pitty upon him that had divested himself of nature it self, as well as Religion, in a time when so much pitty was needed elsewhere, and nothing left besides wherewith to relieve the Sufferers.

Jan. 21. Capt. *Prentice* his Troop being abroad met with a Party of the enemy, of whom they took two Prisoners and killed nine; in which exploit, something hapned very remarkable, for one *W. Dodge* of *Salem* riding in company with another Friend, they hapned to meet with two Indians, the said *Dodge* being better horsed then his friend, made after the foremost, leaving his friend to deal with the hindmost, but his Pistol missed firing, whereupon the *Indian* taking him by the leg turn'd him off his horse, and getting upon him was about killing him with his knife, which *W. Dodge* by chance espyed, and came time enough to rescue his friend, and dispatch the *Indian* lying upon him, and yet overtook the first *Indian* he was pursuing, time enough to doe his business also: by that meanes he did three good offices at once, saved the life of one Friend, and slew two of his Enemyes. But within two or three dayes after, the weather much altering from what it was, induced our Forces to take the first opportunity to pursue the enemy, who as

underſtood by Meſſengers from *Providence*, were now upon their flight into the *Nipmuck Country*: But ſo many difficultyes were caſt in their way, that they could not be ready time enough to prevent the miſchief they did at *Warwick*, as they took their Farewell of their Country: For,

Jan. 27. They diſpoyled Mr. *Carpenter* of two hundred ſheep, and fifty head of Neat Cattle, and fifteen horſes; all which they drove along with them, and were gone too far to be reſcued before our Forces ſet out. Two that belonged to the ſaid *Carpenter* were wounded, and one of the enemies ſlain. As they marched after the enemy, they found a good houſe burned, with a barn belonging to it. They perceived alſo that the enemy dealt much in Horſe-fleſh, meeting with no leſs then ſixty horſes heads, in one place which they had left behind them. Our Souldiers in their purſuit came upon their Reer, killed and took about ſeventy of them, yet never could come to charge them, for they would preſently betake themſelves into Swamps, and not two of them run together, ſo as they ſaw it was an endleſs work to proceed further in the chaſe of ſuch an enemy; but our Forces having purſued them into the woods between *Marlberough* and *Brookfield* in the Road toward *Connecticut*, were conſtrained to turn down to *Boſton* in the beginning of *February* for want of proviſion, both for themſelves and their horſes, which gave an occaſion to the loſſe of thoſe leſſer Towns that were deſtroyed by the *Nipnet Indians* who preſently joyned with the *Narrhaganſets*, upon their firſt approach, as ſhall be related afterwards.

About the tenth of *February* next, ſome hundreds of the Indians whether *Nipnets* or *Naſhaway* men (is uncertain) belonging to him, they call *Sagamore Sam*, and poſſibly ſome of the ſtouteſt of the *Narrhaganſets* that had eſcaped the Winter brunt fell upon *Lancaſter* a ſmall Village of about fifty or ſixty Families, and did much miſchief, burning moſt of the Houſes that were not Gariſoned: and which is moſt ſad and awful to conſider, the Houſe of Mr. *Rowlandſon*, Miniſter of the ſaid *Lancaſter*, which was Gariſoned with a competent number of the Inhabitants; yet the Fortification of the Houſe being on the back ſide, cloſed up with Fire-wood, the Indians got ſo near, as to fire a Lean-too, which burning the Houſe immediately to the ground, all the perſons therein, were put to that hard choice, either to periſh by the flames with the Houſe, or to yield themſelves into the hands of thoſe cruel *Salvages*, which laſt (conſidering that a living Dog is better then a dead Lyon) they choſe, and ſo were forty two perſons ſurpriſed by the Indians, above twenty of the Women and Children they carried away Captive, a rueful ſpectacle to behold, the reſt being Men, they killed in the

the place, and reſerved for further miſery: and many of the reſt were not ſlain in fighting, were killed in attempting to eſcape. The Miniſter himſelf was occaſionally abſent, to ſeek help from the Governour and Council, to defend that place, who returning, was entertained with the Tragical news of his Wife and Children ſurprized, and being carried away by the Enemies, and his Houſe turned into Aſhes, yet it pleaſed God ſo to uphold his heart, comforting himſelf in his God, as *David* at *Ziklag*, that he would alwayes ſay, *he believed he ſhould ſee his Wife and Children again*, which did in like manner ſoon come to paſs within five or ſix months after; all ſave the youngeſt, which being wounded at the firſt, died ſoon after among the Indians.

And ſuch was the goodneſs of God to thoſe poor Captive Women, and Children, that they found ſo much favour in the ſight of their Enemies, that they offered no wrong to any of their perſons, ſave what they could not help, being in many wants themſelves. Neither did they offer any uncivil Carriage to any of the Females, nor ever attempted the chaſtity of any of them, either being reſtrained of God, as was *Abimelek* of old, or by ſome other accidental cauſe, withheld them from doing any wrong in that kind.

Upon the report of this Diſaſter Capt. *Wadſworth* then at *Malberough* with about forty reſolute men, adventuring the reſcuing of the Town that was remaining: and having recovered a Bridge they gat over ſafe, though the Planks were pulled off by the Enemy, and being led up in a way, not diſcovered by them, they forced the Indians for the preſent to quit the place, after they had burnt and deſtroyed the better half of it. Yet afterwards it not being judged tenable, it was abandoned to the pleaſure of the inſulting Foe.

Ten dayes after they were ſo fluſhed with this ſucceſs, that two or three hundred of them came wheeling down to *Medfield* a Town twenty miles from *Boſton*, weſtward from *Dedham*, which they ſurprized very early in the morning (and though there were one hundred and ſixty Souldiers in it or more, beſides the Inhabitants) they burnt near one half of the Town, killing about twenty perſons, but by the reſiſtance of the Souldiers, as ſoon as ever they could be gotten together (it being at or before break of day, none in the leaſt ſuſpecting ſuch an aſſault ſo early) they were quickly forced to forſake the place, and ſo (not without ſome loſs) took their way to *Plimouth* Colony.

The Weſtern Towns above Connecticut, were the chief Seat of the War, and felt moſt of the miſchiefs thereof in the end of the year 1675. but the Scene is now to be changed; and the other Towns and the Vil-

lages that ly Eaſtward nearer *Boſton*, muſt bare their part in the like Tragedies: for as was ſaid before, the *Narrhaganſets* having been driven out of the Country, fled through *Nipnet Plantations*, towards *Watchuſet Hills* meeting with all the Indians that had harboured all Winter in thoſe Woods about *Naſhaway*, they all combined together againſt the Engliſh, yet divided their numbers, and one half of them were obſerved to bend their courſe toward *Plimouth*, taking *Medfield* in their way, which they endeavoured to burn and ſpoile, *Feb*, 21. 1675. as their fellows had done *Lancaſter* ten dayes before.

The ſurprizal of this *Medfield* in regard of ſome remarkable circumſtances it was attended with, is not unworthy a more particular Relating the manner thereof: the loſs of *Lancaſter* had ſufficiently awakened and alarmed the neighbouring Villages, all to ſtand upon their guard; and ſome had obtained Gariſon Souldiers for their greater ſecurity, as was the caſe with the Town of *Medfield*, within twenty two miles of *Boſton*. And at that time were lodged therein ſeveral Gariſon Souldiers, beſides the Inhabitants; yet being billated up & down in all quarters of the town could not be gathered together till a great part of the Town was ſet on fire, and many of the Inhabitants ſlain, which how it could be effected is ſtrange to believe; But moſt of thoſe inland Plantations being over run with young wood (the Inhabitants being every where apt to engroſs more Land into their hands then they were able to ſubdue) as if they were ſeated in the midſt of a heap of Buſhes: their Enemies took the advantage thereof, and ſecretly over night, conveyed themſelves round about the Town, ſome getting under the ſides of their Barns and fences of their Orchards, as is ſuppoſed, where they lay hid under that covert, till break of day, when they ſuddenly ſet upon ſundry Houſes, ſhooting them that came firſt out of their doors, and then fired their Houſes, eſpecially thoſe houſes where the Inhabitants were repaired to Gariſons, were fit for the purpoſe: ſome were killed as they attempted to fly to their Neigbours for ſhelter: ſome were only wounded, and ſome taken alive and carried Captive: in ſome Houſes the Husband running away with one childe, the wife with another, of whome the one was killed, the other eſcaped: they began at the Eaſt end of the Town where they fired the Houſe of one *Samuel Morſe*, that ſeems to have been a ſignal to the reſt to fall on in other parts: moſt of the Houſes in the Weſt or Southweſt end of the Town were ſoon burnt down: and generally when they burnt any out-houſes, the Cattle in them were burnt alſo. Two Mills belonging to the Town were burnt alſo: a poor old man of near an hundred years old, was burnt in one of the Houſes that were conſumed

ſumed by fire. The Lieutenant of the Town, *Adams* by name, was ſhot down by his own door, and his Wife mortally wounded by a Gun fired afterwards accidentally in the Houſe. After the burning of forty or fifty houſes and barns, the *Cannibals* were frighted away out of the Town over a Bridge that lies upon *Charls-River*, by the ſhooting off a piece of Ordnance 2 or 3 times: when they had paſſed over the Bridge they fired one end thereof, to hinder our men from purſuing them, they were thought to be above five hundred: There were ſlain and mortally wounded ſeventeen or eighteen perſons, beſides others dangerouſly hurt. The loſs ſuſtained by the Inhabitants amounted to above two thouſand pounds. This mercy was obſerved in this ſad providence, that never a Gariſon houſe was loſt in this ſurpriſal; nor any of the principal Dwellings, ſo as the chiefeſt and beſt of their Building eſcaped the fury of the Enemy, who as they paſſed the Bridge left a writing behind them, expreſſing ſomething to this purpoſe, that we had provoked them to wrath, and that they would fight with us this twenty years (but they fell ſhort of their expectation by nineteen) adding alſo, that they had nothing to looſe, whereas we had Houſes, Barns and Corn: theſe were ſome of the bold threats uſed by the barbarous crew, but their rage ſhall proceed no further then the counſel of God had determined. The week before was heard a very hideous cry of a kennel of Wolves round the Town, which raiſed ſome of the Inhabitants, and was looked upon by divers as an ominons preſaging of this following Calamity.

Another aſſault was feared, but as ſoon as the Souldiers could be gathered together, they turned their backs, as if they never intended to viſit them more: whether theſe Indians went when they left *Medfield* is not ſo certainly known; the Souldiers in the Town not having opportunity to purſue them over the River, by reaſon that the Bridge was part of it burned: but it is moſt probable that they took their way toward *Plimouth*, and continued about that ſide of the Country for the future, waiting opportunities to do what miſchief they could to the Engliſh in thoſe parts: For within a month after this aſſault of *Medfield*, there was near ſix hundred of them ſeen about *Patuxit* and *Providence*, where Capt. *Pierce* with about fifty of his men were loſt, though with no great advantage to the Enemy, who at that time loſt above double that number: our worthy Captains in this and other exploits being called to imitate *Sampſon*, who was content to dye with his enemies, that he might overthrow them thereby: it having ſo fallen out with many of our choice Commanders and Souldiers at *Deerfield*, *Narrhaganſet*, *Patuxit*, and likewiſe not long after at *Sudbury*.

The

The Governour and Council of *Plimouth* perceiving by the report of theſe outrages committed upon the Towns of the *Maſſachuſets*, that they were like to be viſited this Spring by their old Neighbours, ſent out Capt. *Peirce* of *Scituate* about the latter end of *March*, with about fifty Engliſh, and twenty of their Chriſtian Indians about *Cape Cod*, who proved none of his worſt Souldiers, as the ſequel of this his laſt expedition will declare.

Capt. *Pierce*, as is ſaid before, being ſent out to purſue the Enemy, marched towards *Patuxit*, where he underſtood the Indians were many of them gathered together: he being a man of reſolute courage, was willing to engage them though upon never ſo great diſadvantage: ſome ſay the Indians by counterfeiting, drilled him into a kind of Ambuſh, poſſibly more of them diſcovered themſelves after he began to engage then he was aware of: and being gotten over the River in purſuit of them, where he diſcovered ſo great a number of them, he drew down towards the ſide of the River, hoping the better by that means to prevent their ſurrounding of him, but that proved his overthrow, which he intended as his greateſt advantage: for the Indians getting over the River, ſo galled him from thence, that he was not able to defend himſelf thus aſſaulted on all ſides,& himſelf not being able to travel much a foot, was thereby hindred from retiring to any better place in time; ſo as he ſaw himſelf conſtrained to fight it out to the laſt, which he did with moſt undaunted Courage,& as is ſaid, to the ſlaughter of an hundred & forty of his enemies, before himſelf and his Company were cut off. It is ſaid alſo that being apprehenſive of the danger he was in, by the great numbers of the enemy, like to overpovver him vvith their multitude, he ſent a Meſſenger timely enungh to *Providence*, for relief, but, as *Solomon* ſaith, *A faithful Meſſenger is as Snow in harveſt, another is as ſmoak to the eyes and vinegar to the teeth.* (vvhether through ſloth or Covvardize, is not much material) this meſſage vvas not delivered to them to vvhom it vvas immediately ſent; by accident only ſome of *Rehoboth* underſtanding of the danger after the evening exerciſe (it being on the Lords day, *March* 26. 1676.) repaired to the place, but then it was too late to bring help, unleſs it vvere to be Spectators of the dead Carkaſes of their friends, and to perform the laſt office of love to them.

It is vvorth the noting, vvhat faithfulneſs and courage ſome of the Chriſtian *Indians* vvith the ſaid Capt. *Pierce* ſhevved in the Fight: one of them, *Amos* by name, after the Captain vvas ſhot in his leg or thigh, ſo as he was not able to ſtand any longer, would not leave him, but charging his gun ſeveral times, fired ſtoutly upon the enemy, till he ſaw

ſaw that there was no poſſibility for him to do any further good to Capt. *Pierce*, nor yet to ſave himſelf, if he ſtayed any longer; therefore he uſed this policy, perceiving the Enemy had all blacked their faces, he alſo ſtooping down, pulled out ſome blacking out of a pouch he carried with him, diſcoloured his face therewith, and ſo making himſelf look as like *Hobamacko* as any of his Enemies: he ran amongſt them a little while and was taken for one of themſelves, as if he had been ſearching for the Engliſh, until he had an opportunity to eſcape away among the Buſhes: therein imitating the Cuttle Fiſh, which when it is purſued, or in danger, caſteth out of its body a thick humor, as black as Ink, through which it paſſes away unſeen by the purſuer.

It is reported of another of theſe *Cape Indians* (Friends to the Engliſh of *Plimouth*) that being purſued by one of the Enemies, he betook himſelf to a great Rock, where he ſheltred himſelf for a while, at laſt perceiving that his Enemy lay ready with his Gun on the other ſide, to diſcharge upon him, as ſoon as he ſtir'd never ſo little away from the place where he ſtood: in the iſſue he thought of this politick Stratagem to ſave himſelf, and deſtroy his Enemy, (for as *Solomon* ſaid of old, *Wiſdome is better then Weapons of War*:) he took a ſtick, and hung his Hat upon it, and then by degrees gently lifted it up, till he thought it would be ſeen, and ſo become a fit mark for the other that watched to take aym at him: the other taking it to be his head, fired a Gun, and ſhot through the Hat; which our Chriſtian Indian perceiving, boldly held up his head and diſcharged his own Gun upon the real head, not the hat of his Adverſary, whereby he ſhot him dead upon the place, and ſo had liberty to march away with the ſpoils of of his Enemy.

The like ſubtle device was uſed by another of the *Cape Indians* at the ſame time, being one of them that went out with Capt. *Pierce*; for being in like manner purſued by one of *Philips Indians*, as the former was, he nimbly got behind the but end of a Tree newly turned up by the roots, which carried a conſiderable breadth of the ſurface of the Earth along with it (as is very uſual in theſe parts, where the roots of the Trees ly very fleet in the ground) which ſtood up above the Indians height, in form of a large Shield, only it was ſomew hat too heavy to be eaſily weilded, or removed: the Enemy Indian lay with his Gun ready to ſhoot him down, upon his firſt diſſerting his ſtation; but a ſubtle wit taught our Chriſtian *Netop* a better device, for boring a little hole through this his broad Shield, he diſcerned his enemy, who could not ſo eaſily diſcern him; a good Musketier need never deſire a fairer mark to ſhoot at, whereupon diſcharging his Gun, he ſhot him down: what can be more juſt then that he ſhould himſelf be killed who

lay in wait to kill another man? ---- *neque enim Lex juſtior ulla eſt,*
Quàm necis Artifices arte perire ſuâ.

Inſtances of this nature ſhew the ſubtlety and dexterouſneſs of theſe Natives, if they were improved in feats of Arms: and poſſibly if ſome of the Engliſh had not been too ſhye in making uſe of ſuch of them as were well affected to their intereſt, they need never have ſuffered ſo much from their enemies: it having been found upon late experience, that many of them have proved not only faithful, but very ſerviceable and helpful to the engliſh; they uſually proving good Seconds, though they have not ordinarily confidence enough to make the firſt Onſet.

But to return to the proceeding of the Indians toward *Plimouth*.

Feb. 25. They aſſaulted *Weymouth*, and burned ſeven or eight houſes & barns there, which *Weymouth* is a town lying towards *Plimouth Colony*.

March 12. following, They aſſaulted the houſe of one Mr. *Clark* in *Plimouth*, cruelly murthering eleven perſons that belonged to two Families that lodged therein, and then fired the houſe. The cruelty towards theſe perſons was the more remarkable, in that they had often received much kindneſs from the ſaid *Clarke*. It is the uſual cuſtome of ſuch Debtors, to uſe them worſt, of whom they have taken up much kindneſs upon truſt before hand.

March 17*th*. Another party of them fell upon *Warwick*, a place beyond *Philips* Land; toward the *Narrhaganſet Country*, where they burnt down to the ground all but a few houſes, left ſtanding as a Monument of their barbarous fury. The like miſchief was acted by them upon the houſes of the Engliſh remaining in the *Narrhaganſet Country*.

This 26 of *March* being the firſt day of the week, as the firſt of the year after our *Julian* account, ſeemed ominous at the firſt on fundry accounts, threatning a gloomy time, yet proved in the iſſue, but as a louring morning before a lightſome day:

For beſides the burning of *Marlburrough*, at leaſt a great part of it on the ſame day; a very ſad accident fell out the ſame time at *Springfield*, as ſhall be ſpecified hereafter; beſides that which befell Captain *Pierce*, which is already related, with whom fell ſo many of his Souldiers on the ſame day alſo: yet had the Enemy no cauſe to boaſt, being forced by the valour of the Engliſh, to give ſo many of their own lives in exchange: ſome few made their eſcape, as is ſaid by ſubtle devices: beſides the three forementioned, another by a like ſhift, not only ſaved himſelf, but helped an Engliſh man to eſcape alſo, whom he ran after with his Hatchet in his hand, as if he were about to kill him; whereby both of them made a ſhift to get away: the reſt were all loſt (the unfaithfulneſs of the Meſſenger being as was intimated before,

the

the cauſe of their ſlaughter) unto a few that hardly eſcaped by the advantage of the buſhes, giving them opportunity to paſs unſeen, yet was it confeſſed by a Priſoner of the enemy, taken afterward by the Engliſh, that they loſt an hundred and forty in that encounter. And had not the ſaid Engliſh by wading after the enemy over a River, made their amunition uſeleſs, there had not half ſo many of them been cut off. From thence they turned back towards *Rehoboth* near *Swanzy*, where on *March.* 28. they burnt thirty Barns, and near upon forty dwelling houſes, thereby as it were threatning the utter deſolation of that poor town; and ſo proceeding on that ſide the Country, they burnt the very next day about thirty houſes in *Providence* in the way toward *Narrhaganſet.*

But it was now full ſea with *Philip* his affairs, for ſoon after the tide of his ſucceſſes began to turn about the Sea coaſt, which made way for the falling of the water up higher in the Country. For about this time newes came to *Boſton* that our neighbours and friends of *Connecticut Colony* hearing of the attempts of the enemy on that ſide of the Country, ſent a party of their Souldiers, under the Command of Capt. *George Deniſon* with ſome friendly Indians, part *Mohegins* and *Pequods*, part *Nianticks* belonging to *Ninigret* a *Narrhaganſet Sachem*, who never engaged in this quarrell againſt the Engliſh: who in purſuit of the enemy, meeting with a conſiderable part of them about the *Narrhaganſet Country*, killed and took forty and five of them, without the loſs of one of their own men. This Victory was the more conſiderable, in that ſeveral of the chief Captains of the enemy were at this time killed or taken, amongſt whom was *Canonchet* (who came down to get ſeed-corn to plant at *Squakheag*) he was the chief Sachem of all the *Narrhaganſets*: the ſon of *Miantonimoh*, and the heir of all his fathers pride and inſolency, as well as of his malice againſt the Engliſh, a moſt perfidious villain, who had the laſt *October* been at *Boſton*, pretending to make a firm peace with the Engliſh, but never intending to keep one Article thereof: Therefore as a juſt reward of his wickedneſs was he adjudged by thoſe that took him to dye, which was accordingly put in execution at *Stonington*, whither he was carryed: There his head being cut off was carried to *Hartford*: The *Mohegins* and *Pequods* that had the honour to take him priſoner, having the honour likewiſe of doing juſtice upon him, & that by the prudent advice of the Engliſh Commanders, thereby the more firmly to engage the ſaid Indians againſt the treacherous *Narrhaganſets*. There are differing reports about the manner of his taking, and by whom, whither the Indians or the Engliſh firſt took him, however it was ſufficient matter of rejoycing to all the Colonyes of the Engliſh,

that the King-leader of almoſt all this miſchief, and great Incendiary betwixt the *Narhaganſets* and us, dyed himſelf by that ſword of warre which he had drawn againſt others.

Not long after Capt. *George Deniſon* of *Stonington*, with ſixty ſix Volunteirs, and an hundred and twelve *Pequods*, killed and took ſeventy & ſix of the enemy, amongſt whom were two *Narrhaganſet* Sachems, one of which was the Grand-child of *Pomham* (who is accounted the moſt warlike and the beſt ſouldier of all the *Narrhaganſet Sachems*) taking at the ſame time 160. buſhels of the enemyes corn, no ſmall damage to our Enemies at that time, and all this without the loſs of one man of the ſaid Captains followers.

The greateſt miſchief which after this time was done by the enemy in *Plimouth Colony*, was by burning of houſes and barns, which they might eaſily doe, the Inhabitants in moſt of thoſe Towns being repaired to gariſon houſes for their greater ſecurity: For about the 20*th*. of *April*, fifty of the enemy burnt about nineteen houſes and barns at *Scituate*, but were ſo reſolutely encountred by a few of the Inhabitants, that they were driven away, and thereby prevented from doing of further miſchief.

Not long after, *May*. 8. they burned about ſeventeen houſes and barns in *Bridge-water*, a ſmall town in *Plimouth Colony*, twenty ſeven miles on this ſide *Taunton*. but it pleaſed God juſt at the time to ſend a Thunder-ſhower, which put out the fire, or elſe it might have prevailed much further.

It is very remarkable, that the Inhabitants of the ſaid *Bridge-water* never yet loſt one perſon by the ſword of the enemy, though the town is ſcituate within *Plimouth Colony*, yet have they helped to deſtroy many of the enemy. *None knowes either love or hatred by all that is before them* in things of this nature: nor ought ſtanders by that may eſcape think themſelves leſs ſinners then thoſe that ſo periſh by the ſword of the enemy: Yet about this time four of the Inhabitants of *Taunton* were killed, as they were at their work in the field, whereby it is ſaid, thirty children were made Fatherleſs: *So unſearchable are the judgments of the Almighty, and his wayes paſt finding out.*

During theſe Calamities, Gods Diſpenſations have been very various, as well in reference unto Towns and Villages, as unto perſons: As if ſome places had been by ſpecial providence marked out to preſervation, as others unto deſtruction; of which no other reaſon can be rendred according unto man, then the good pleaſure of God ſo to order and diſpoſe of events, which *ſometimes* as *Solomon* ſays *are all one to the good, and to the clean, and to the unclean.*

And

And because special notice is taken of the Town of *Bridgewater*, the which although it is seated, as it were, in the midst of danger, and hath been often assaulted by considerable numbers of the Enemy, yet never lost any one of their Inhabitants, young or old; a particular account shall here be given of the most remarkable passages of divine providence relating to that Plantation since the War began. *June* 26. 1675. When *Philips* malice against the English, mixed with a particular prejudice against Governour *Winslow*, began to boyl up to the height of an open Rebellion, the people of *Swanzy* being like to be distressed by the Indians, a Post was instantly sent to the Governour of *Plimouth*, the way lying through *Bridgewater*, the said Post returned the next day, and about 9 or 10 of the clock, as he passed through the Town, left an Order from the Governour for the raising of twenty men, well armed and furnished with Horses, to be forthwith dispatched away for the relief of *Swanzy*; seventeen were all that could be raised on the sudden, who were sent thither that night, and were the first that were upon their march in all the Country; and possibly they fared not the worse for their forwardness: as *Deborah* the Prophetess, blessed God for them *that offered themselves willingly among the People*. These seventeen of *Bridgewater* were *June* 27. ordered by Capt. *Bradford* to *Metapoiset* a place at twelve miles distance from *Swanzy*, to strengthen the Garison at one *Bowns* House, wherein were seventy persons, amongst whom were only found sixteen men. After they had marched five miles of their way, having Mr. *Brown* Son for their Pilot, they met with some *Swanzy* people, newly turned out of their Houses (by which they were to pass) who having not as yet resisted unto Blood, yet made doleful lamentations, wringing of their hands, and bewailing of their losses, very much also perswading *Bridgewater* men to turn back, because of the danger, but they having so clear a call, had also more courage, then cowardly to desert the cause of God and his People, lest they should thereby betray the lives of so many of their friends into the Enemies hands; and so by the good hand of God towards them, came safe to *Metapoiset* that night.

The next day in the morning, a part of them went to guard Mr. *Brown* their Pilot back to his quarters, in their return they came suddenly upon a party of Indians, about thirty in all; they were within shot one of another, but the English having no Commission to fight, till they were assaulted, and not being impeached in their passage, they returned safe to their Garison at *Metapoiset*: the Indians presently drawing off, and firing three Guns (though not with intent to do them any

hurt, as was conceived) gave a shout, and so left them, when this party of the English drew near to their Garison, they met with a company of Carts going to fetch Corn from an house deserted near by, about a quarter of a mile off from Mr. *Bournes* House, the Souldiers gave them notice of the Indians which they had discovered, and withal advised them by no means to venture any more, because of the danger; but they were resolved notwithstanding these earnest perswasions of the Souldiers to have another turn, which they soon found to be to the peril of their own lives, six of them being presently after either killed right out, or mortally wounded, as soon as they came to the Barn where was the Corn; these six are said to be the first that were slain in this quarrel. The Souldiers at the Garison hearing the Guns, made what haste they could to the place, but being most of them in that interim, gone to look their Horses they could not come time enough to the relief of their friends, yet upon their approach, they who had done the mischief presently fled away: one *Jones* hard pursued by two Indians was by their coming delivered from the extent of the Enemies cruelty, but having received his mortal wound, had only that favour thereby, to dy in the Arms of his friends, though by the wounds received from his Enemies.

The next week, fifteen of those Souldiers looking after their Horses, fell into an Ambush of twenty of the Indians, but being prepared for the encounter, they discharged their Guns upon each other: but our men received no hurt, some of them felt the winde of the bullets passing by their faces; what damage the Enemy received is uncertain, yet some of the English report they found some of their enemies dead bodies in the place afterward.

Thus were they not only preserved in many perils themselves, but became instrumental also, for the preservation of most of that Garison, who with their goods by their means, with the help of a small party of *Plimouth* Forces sent thither after the six were killed (as is mentioned before) were soon after transported safely to *Rhode Island*.

Many outrages were that Summer committed upon their Neighbours at *Taunton* and *Namasket*, yet it pleased God to protect this poor Town of *Bridge-water* from any other hurt, till the beginning of *April* next, when themselves with their Neighbours of *Taunton* and *Rehoboth*, were strongly solicited to desert their Dwellings, and repair down to the Towns by the Sea side, but God encouraged them to keep their stations notwithstanding the extream danger then presented. It is reported that *Philip* gave order that *Taunton* and *Bridge-water* should not be destroyed till the last, which is all the favour to be expected from an enemy,

but

but theſe things are only in the hands of God, and not to be determined by man.

April 9. being Lords day, A ſmall party of the Enemy came down upon the ſaid *Bridge-water*, burnt an out-houſe and barn, broke up and rifled ſeveral other houſes in the ſame quarter of the Town, which are notwithſtanding yet remaining; they ſent out a party of their men to purſue them that night, and many dayes after, but could not hear of them.

May 7. the Lords day alſo (no doubt but the betterneſs of the day, will increaſe the badneſs of their deed attempted thereon) they had intelligence of a great body of Indians diſperſed that way, with intent to have fallen upon the Town that very day, but were caſually prevented by a great deal of rain that fell the night before: however they were reſolved to foreſlow no opportunity, wherefore on the next day (*May* 8. about three hundred of them, one *Tiſquogen* being their chief Leader, at 8 or 9 in the morning made an aſſault upon the eaſt end of the Town, on the South ſide of the River: many of the Inhabitants ſtayed at home that morning becauſe of the intelligence the day before, and ſo were the more ready to entertain them; ſome that not taking that warning vertured into the field about their occaſions, were in danger of ſurprizal, but by the ſpecial favour of God, eſcaped, and came time enough to help defend their own and their neighbours dwellings, being ſhot at, and hard purſued a conſiderable way.

The Indians preſently began to fire the town, but it pleaſed God ſo to ſpirit and encourage ſeveral of the Inhabitants, iſſuing out of their Gariſon houſes; that they fell upon them with great reſolution, and beat them off; at the ſame inſtant of time, the Lord of Hoſts alſo fighting for them from heaven, by ſending a ſtorm of thunder and rain very ſeaſonably, which prevented the burning of the houſes which were fired: The Souldiers alſo fighting under the banner of Gods ſpecial protection were ſo ſucceſsful in repelling the Enemy, that they neither had any of the Inhabitants killed or taken, and but one wounded. The Indians by this ſtout reſiſtance, being beaten off to the skirts of the Town, made a freſh onſet upon another quarter thereof, on the north ſide of the River where they had done much more miſchief, but that God ſtirred up ſundry of the people to venture out of their fortified houſes, who fired upon the enemy, and beat them from their dwellings, ſo as in the evening they drew off to an out-houſe, three miles diſtant from the town: the next day the Inhabitants expected another aſſault, but the enemy having burned the houſe & barn, where they kept their Rendezvouze over night, & one

houſe

houſe more not far diſtant, they marched all clear away for that time.

Thus it pleaſed God ſo to order his diſpenſations, toward this ſmall Town, as a brand plucked out of the fire, that they did but juſt taſte of this bitter cup, which others drank deeper of; yet had they not ſuch mercy, as theſe had, mixed therewith: under God, the courage of the Inhabitants was a great means of their preſervation, for they fired ſo ſtoutly upon the Enemies, that they durſt not come very near any of the Gariſoned Houſes, ſaluting them only at a diſtance. God was eminently ſeen upholding the ſpirits of all ſorts, men and women, ſo as no conſternation of minde was ſeen upon any of them, during the whole time of the diſpute.

In this aſſault they loſt but thirteen dwelling-houſes, whereof five only were in the Town (the reſt being out-houſes and deſerted for the preſent) with ſome few Barns, and ſome of their Cattle; all which was a very inconſiderable loſs, in compariſon of what befell others, and themſelves might have endured, if God had not by his ſpecial favour prevented,

July 14, & 15. Another party of Indians came down upon the North-weſt ſide of the Town, but with no better ſucceſs; for they had no Commiſſion from the Lord of Hoſts to touch any of the perſons of the Inhabitants, their power reaching only to the ſlaying of their Cattle at this time.

July 18, 19, 20. They ſent our parties after the Enemy to purſue them by their Track, who fell upon ſome of them. On the twentieth they took ſixteen, whereof two were men: on this day they had to aſſiſt them, it ſeems ſome of the Bay Indians ſent them from Captain *Brattle*; ſome of the Captives informed, that there were but 70 or 80. in the Company, and but ten or twelve men amongſt them: but within a few dayes, theſe *Bridge-water-men*, ſhall finde better ſucceſs in purſuit of their Enemies, when *Philip* himſelf ſhall hardly eſcape their hands as ſhall be ſeen afterwards.

While one party of the Enemy thus acted their part in and about *Plimouth Colony*, towards the Sea-coaſt, other parties of them were not idle in the *Maſſachuſets Colony*, where they aſſaulted many places, doing what miſchief they could by firing of Houſes, and killing ſeveral perſons in the inland Plantations.

March 2. They aſſaulted *Groton*: the next day over night Major *Willard* with ſeventy Horſe came into the Town; forty Foot alſo came up to their relief from *Watertown*, but the Indians were all fled, having firſt burned all the Houſes in the Town, ſave four that were Gariſoned,

the

the Meeting-houſe being the ſecond houſe they fired, Soon after Capt. *Sill* was ſent with a ſmall Party of Dragoons of 8 Files to fetch off the Inhabitants of *Groton*, and what was left from the ſpoyle of the enemy, having under his conduct about ſixty Carts, being in depth from front to reer above two mile: when a party of Indians lying in ambuſh, at a place of eminent advantage, fired upon the front and mortally wounded two of the vaunt Carriers, who dyed both the next night; and might (had God permitted) have done eminent damage to the whole Body, it being a full hour before the whole Body could be drawne up, which was done with care and Courage: but the Indians after a few more ſhot made without doing harm, retired, and made no further aſſault upon them, being the ſame Party of *Indians* which the day before had burned ſome part of *Chelmsford*. Soon after this Village was deſerted and deſtroyed by the enemy; yet was it a ſpecial providence, that though the carts were guarded with ſo ſlender a Convoy, yet there was not any conſiderable loſs ſuſtained.

The Surpriaall of *Groton* was after this manner.

On *March*, 2. The Indians came in the night and rifled eight or nine houſes and carried away ſome cattle, and alarmed the Town.

On *March*, 9. About ten in the morning, a parcel of *Indians* (having two dayes lurked in the town, and taken poſſeſſion of three out-houſes and feaſted themſelves with corn, divers ſwine and poultry which they there ſeized) laid an ambuſh for two Carts, which went from their gariſon to fetch in ſome hay, attended with four men, two of which eſpying the enemy, made a difficult eſcape, the other two were ſet upon, and one of them ſlain, ſtript naked, his body mangled, and dragged into the high-way, and laid on his back in a moſt ſhamefull manner: the other taken Captive; and after ſentenced to death, but the enemy not concuring in the manner of it, execution was deferred, and he by the providence of God eſcaped by a bold attempt the night before he was deſigned to ſlaughter, and fled to the Gariſon at *Lancaſter*, the cattle in both towns wounded, and five of them ſlain outright.

March, 13. Was the day when the enemy came in a full body, by there own account 400. and thought by the Inhabitants to be not many fewer. The town was at this time (having been put into a fright by the ſad Cataſtrophe of *Lancaſter* the next bordering town) gathered into five Gariſons, four of which were ſo near together, as to be able to command from one to the other, between which were the cattle belonging to thoſe Families driven into paſtures, which afterward proved their preſervation; the other was near a mile diſtant from the reſt.

This morning the *Indians* (having in the night placed themſelves in ſeveral parts of the town) made their Onſet; which began near the four Gariſons; for a body of them having placed themſelves in Ambuſcado behind a hill, near one of the Gariſons, two of them made diſcovery of themſelves, as if they had ſtood upon diſcovery. At this time divers of the people, nothing ſuſpecting any ſuch matter (for the day before, many had been upon diſcovery many miles, and found no ſigns of an Enemy being ſo near) were attending their occaſions, ſome fodderíng their cattle, ſome milking their Cows, of whom the Enemy might eaſily have made a ſeizure, but God prevented; they having another deſign in hand, as ſoon after appeared: Theſe two Indians were at length eſpyed, and the Alarm given; whereupon the moſt of the men in the next Gariſon, and ſome alſo of the ſecond (which was about eight or nine pole diſtant) drew out and went to ſurprize theſe two *Indians*, who kept their ſtation till our men reached the brow of the hill, then aroſe the ambuſh and diſcharged a volley upon them, which cauſed a diſorderly retreat, or rather a rout, in which one was ſlain, and three others wounded: mean while another ambuſh had riſen, and come upon the back ſide of the Gariſon ſo deſerted of men, and pulled down the Palizadoes: The Souldiery in this rout, retreated not to their own, but paſſed by to the next Gariſon, the women and children mean while expoſed to hazard, but by the goodneſs of God made a ſafe eſcape to the other fortified houſe without any harm, leaving their ſubſtance to the enemy, who made a prey of it, and ſpent the reſidue of the day in removing the corn and houſhold-ſtuff (in which loſs five Familyes were impoveriſhed) and firing upon the other Gariſon: here alſo they took ſome Cattle. No ſooner was the ſignal given by the firſt volley of ſhot, but immediately in ſeveral parts of the town at once, did the ſmoakes ariſe, they firing the houſes.

In the afternoon they uſed a ſtratagem not unlike the other, to have ſurpriſed the ſingle Gariſon, but God prevented. An old *Indian* if an *Indian* paſſed along the ſtreet with a black ſheep on his back, with a ſlow pace, as one decrepit: They made ſeveral ſhot at him, but miſſed him, at which ſeveral iſſued out to have taken him alive, but the Watchman ſeaſonably eſpying an ambuſh behind the houſe, gave the ſignal, whereby they were prevented.

The night following the enemy lodged in the town, ſome of them in the Gariſon they had ſurprized, but the Body of them in an adjacent valley, where they made themſelves merry after their ſavage manner. The next morning they gave two or three Volleyes at Capt. *Parkers* Gari-

Gariſon, & ſo marched off, fearing as was thought that ſupply might be nigh at hand. This aſſault of theirs was managed with their wonted ſubtlety and barbarous cruelty: for they ſtript the body of him whom they had ſlain in the firſt onſet, and then cutting off his head, fixed it upon a pole looking towards his own land. The corpſe of the man ſlain the week before, they dug up out of his grave, they cut off his head and one leg, and ſet them upon poles, and ſtript off his winding-ſheet. An Infant which they found dead in the houſe firſt ſurpriſed, they cut in pieces, which afterward they caſt to the ſwine. There were about forty dwelling houſes burnt at that time, beſides other buildings. This deſolation was followed with the breaking up of the town, and ſcattering of the Inhabitants, and removal of the Candleſtick, after it had been there ſeated above twelve years.

Concerning the ſurprizing of *Groton*, *March* 13. There was not any thing much more material, then what is already mentioned, ſave only the inſolency of *John Monoco* or *one eyed John*, the chief Captain of the Indians in that deſign; who having by a ſudden ſurprizal early in the morning ſeized upon a Gariſon houſe in one end of the Town, continued in it, plundering what was there ready at hand, all that day; and at night did very familiarly in appearance, call out to Capt. *Parker* that was lodged in another Gariſon houſe, and entertained a great deal of Diſcourſe with him, whom he called his *old Neighbour*: dilating upon the cauſe of the War, and putting an end to it by a friendly peace: yet oft mixing bitter Sarcaſmes, with ſeveral blaſphemous ſcoffs and taunts at their praying and worſhipping God in the meeting houſe, which he deridingly ſaid he had burned. Among other things which he boaſtingly uttered that night: he ſaid he burnt *Medfield* (though it be not known whither he was there perſonally preſent or no) *Lancaſter*, and that now he would burn that Town of *Groton*, and the next time he would burn *Chelmsford*, *Concord*, *Watertown*, *Cambridge*, *Charlstown*, *Roxbury*, *Boſton*, adding at laſt in their Dialect, *What Me will, Me do*: not much unlike the proud *Aſſyrian* (if his power had been equal to his pride) ſometime threatned againſt *Jeruſalem*, but was by the remarkable providence of God, ſo confounded within a few months after, that he was bereft of his four hundred and fourſcore (of which he now boaſted) and only with a few more Bragadozio's like himſelf, *Sagamore Sam*, *old Jethro*, and the *Sagamore* of *Quobaog* were taken by the Engliſh, and was ſeen (not long before the writing of this) marching towards the Gallows (through *Boſton* Streets, which he threatned to burn at his pleaſure) with an Halter about his neck, with which he was hang-

ed at the Towns end, *September* 26. in this preſent year 1676. *So let thine Enemies periſh O Lord*, and ſuch contempt be poured on all them that open their mouthes to blaſpheme thy holy Name.

Things looked with a pritty ſad face about thoſe parts at this time, yet *though the Righteous fall ſeven times, let not their Enemies rejoyce, for the Righteous ſhall riſe again, but their wicked Enemies ſhall fall into miſchief, and riſe no more.* It was ebbing water with *New-England* at this time, and a while after; but God ſhall turn the ſtream before it be long, and bring down their Enemies to lick the duſt before them.

After this *April* 17. Captain *Sill*, being appointed to keep Gariſon at *Groton*, ſome Indians coming to hunt for Swine, three Indians drew near the Gariſon houſe, ſuppoſing it to have been deſerted, were two of them ſlain by one ſingle ſhot made by the Captains own hands, and the third by another ſhot made from the Gariſon.

The danger which theſe inland Towns were like to be expoſed unto from the Enemy, after they were driven out of the *Narrhaganſet Country*, was foreſeen by the Council of the *Maſſachuſets*, yea they had ſome intimation thereof from the Enemy themſelves: but they were not well able to prevent it, in that unſeaſonable time of the year; no way fit for marching of Souldiers, and tranſporting of Proviſions (the Winter then beginning to break up in this Country) for while our Forces were up in the *Narrhaganſet Country*, in the Winter, a couple of Chriſtian Indians were ſent as Spyes into the *Nipnet* and *Narrhaganſet Country*, through the Woods in the depth of Winter, when the wayes were impaſſable for any other ſort of people: theſe two, by name *James* and *Job* ordered their buſineſs ſo prudently, as that they were admitted into thoſe Indian habitations, as Friends, and had free liberty of Diſcourſe with them; they were at the firſt a little jealous of them, but by the means of *one eyed John* (a great Captain of the Indians, that afterward led them that ſpoiled *Groton*, who having been a Companion of one of the ſaid Spyes both in Hunting and in fighting againſt the *Mohawks* formerly; ſo eſteemed of him, that he would not ſuffer any of the reſt to touch him) they paſſed through all the Indian Towns lying thirty miles diſtant from *Quobnog*, and twenty miles northward of the Road to *Connecticut*: one of the ſaid Spyes returned about *Jan.* 24. informing thoſe that ſent him, what he had obſerved, both the number of the Indians, (about three hundred in all) alſo their ſeveral Towns, and what proviſion they had: plenty of Veniſon, much Pork from the Engliſh mens Hogs which they had taken, they confeſſed likewiſe that he and ſome of his party had killed the People at *Naſhaway* the laſt year, ſuſpected to

have

have been done by the *Indians* of *Malberough*: he told them alſo they intended to burn *Lancaſter* within three weeks after that time, which accordingly they did much about the ſame time: adding moreover that ſome *Frenchmen* were with them at *Pocomptuck*, encouraging of them to go on with their deſigns, promiſing them aſſiſtance, which made ſome ready to think the Indians were ſtirred up by the *French* to do all this miſchief, but more of that afterwards: what might be gathered from the foreſaid premiſes is eaſie to conceive; whereupon new Forces with as much ſpeed as the ſeaſon would allow were raiſed and ſent up into thoſe parts, under the command of Major *Savage* in chief: they were diſpatched away in the beginning of *March*, and appointed to meet with ſuch as ſhould be ſent from *Connecticut Colony*, which they did about *Quabaog*, and ſo intended to march directly up to thoſe Indian Towns about *Watchuſet Hill* to the Northweſt: but the Indians were gone, and our Forces in the purſuit of them, taking the wrong path miſſed of them, yet ranging through thoſe woods, they were at one time ſudenly aſſaulted by a ſmall party of Indians firing upon them, wounding Mr. *Gerſhom Bulkly*, by a ſhot in his Thigh, and killing one of their Souldiers, after which as they marched along, they accidentally fell upon another ſmall party of the Enemy, of whom they ſlew ſome, and took others, to the number of ſixteen, yet could not meet with the main Body of the Enemy who it ſeems had paſſed over a great River by Rafts, ſo our men could follow them no further, wherefore turning down towards *Hadly* and *North-hampton*, whether it was ſuppoſed the Indians intended to paſs, They came very ſeaſonably to the relief of the ſaid Towns, which elſe had been in danger of being loſt. For,

March 14. The Enemy fell upon *North-Hampton*, and in three places broke through the Fortification of Palizadoes, ſet up round about the Town a little before, for their better ſecurity: but the Town being at that time full of Souldiers, they were quickly repulſed, after they had killed four men, and two women, and fired four or five dwelling houſes, and as many barns, with the loſs of many of their lives as was ſuppoſed.

While our Forces under Major *Savage* continued on that ſide of the Country, a ſad accident fell out at *Springfield*, the certainty of which, it is judged meet here to relate, to prevent miſtakes: the matter having through a great overſight been otherwiſe repreſented, then indeed it was, not only to the prejudice of Truth, but to the diſadvantage of ſome perſons concerned therein. While the Souldiers were quartered amongſt the ſeveral Towns upon *Connecticut River*, a party of the Troop

were quartered at a place belonging to *Springfield* called the *Long Meadow*, three miles from the Town below toward *Windsor*: ſeveral of the Inhabitants having moſt of the Winter kept from the publick meeting on the Lords dayes, for fear of the Enemy, were incouraged to adventure to the Aſſembly, on the 26 of *March*, riding in the company of the Troopers; but having heard of no Indians thereabouts a good while, were more ſecure then they had cauſe; for riding ſome of them with women behind them, and ſome with their Children in their Arms yet not ſo careful as to keep in the middle, but rather in the Rear, and at a pretty diſtance ſtragling from the reſt of the Company, a party of Indians lying in the Buſhes as they rode along, fired upon the hindmoſt, and killed two and wounded others: thoſe in the Front having alſo Women and Maids behind ſome of them, were at a ſtand to know what to do, fearing they might expoſe thoſe Women they had in their company, if they ſhould ride back (in that winding Road made through a woody place for a mile or two together) to look after them that were behind, at the laſt one that came riding up, told the foremoſt company there was no hurt, and that they were all coming: they that were before rode away with all ſpeed to the end of the Town, where ſetting down the Women, the Troopers returned back, but too late to recover too poor Women & two children, who upon the firſt aſſault were thrown off their horſes, and immediately haled into the Buſhes, and through a ſwamp on the other ſide of a ſteep Bark, ſo as they could not be heard of all that afternoon, nor the next day, till toward night, although they were diligently ſearched after by all the Troopers in and about the Town; At laſt when they were diſcryed juſt by a Swamp ſide, the cruel wretches endeavoured to have killed them all, but in haſte only wounded them with their hatchets, yet ſo as one of the poor creatures recovered, the other with the children dyed of their wounds before they were brought home, or within a little time after. They did not complain of any incivility toward them while they were in their power, but by the Farewell given them at their parting, they found it true by their own experience, that *the tender mercyes of the wicked are cruelty.*

There hapned no other matter of moment worthy the reporting, while our Forces tarryed in thoſe parts, and the Commanders obſerving that the enemy was turned back again through the Woods, towards the *Maſſachuſets Bay*, after a months time retired back, yet could never meet with the enemy in their return through the Woods, although while they were at the towns aforeſaid, they underſtood of ſeveral attempts made upon *Sudbury*, *Marlborough*, the moſt part of which laſt

they

they deſtroyed *March* 26. which made the Inhabitants forſake their Dwellings, leaving only a few houſes gariſoned with Souldiers, the better to ſecure a paſſage to the towns weſtward upon *Connecticut River*.

The Inhabitants of *Sudbury*, with the ſouldiers under Leiut. *Jacobs* of *Marlberough* ſufficiently alarmed by the late miſchief done about thoſe Towns, reſolved to try what work they could make with the enemy in the night, whereupon going forth *March* 27. toward morning, they diſcerned where the enemy lay by their fires, (near three hundred of them) and that within half a mile of a gariſon houſe, near the place where they had done ſo much miſchief the day before. Such was the courage and reſolution of the Engliſh, though but forty in number, Towns-men and Souldiers, that they adventured to diſcharge upon them as they lay by their fires, when it was ſo dark that an *Indian* could hardly be diſcerned from a better man, yet God ſo directing, they diſcharged ſeveral times upon them, wounded thirty, fourteen of whom either dyed of their wounds the ſame day or ſoon after, which had been chief agents in this preſent miſchief againſt the Engliſh. Such was the ſucceſs of this skirmiſh that the Aſſailants came off without the loſs of one man.

After this time the enemy began to ſcatter about in ſmall partyes, doing what miſchief they could about the *Maſſachuſets*, killing a man at *Weymouth*, another at *Hingham*, as they lay skulking up and down in Swamps and boles, to aſſault any that occaſionally looked never ſo little into the woods, ſometimes alarming the towns about *Boſton* by diſcharging gunns upon particular perſons; at *Billerica*, *Braintree*, and at *Rentham*, near about which place in the Road to *Rehoboth*, they aſſaulted one *Woodcocks* houſe, killed one man, and one of his ſons, wounded another, and burned his ſons houſe.

Notwithſtanding the little ſucceſs of former attempts, *Philip* and his men have one prize more to play in the *Maſſachuſets Colony*, before they goe off the ſtage, and then we ſhall ſoon ſee their power viſibly declining every where, untill their final overthrow come upon them. There were ſeveral ſmall Partyes of them ſcattered up and down all over the Country, yet the main Body of them was ſtill lurking up and down in thoſe woods that lye between *Brookfield*, *Marlburrough* and *Connecticut River*. Poſſibly they had ſome hope of driving all the Country before them to the towns upon the ſea-coaſt; for having burned the deſerted houſes at *Marlburrough*, *April*, 17. the next day they ſet upon *Sudbury* with all their might, (hoping tis like) to doe there, as they had done at the Towns next beyond it. They did at the firſt prevail ſo far as to conſume ſeveral houſes, and barns, and kill ſeveral perſons, ten or twelve of

the

the Engliſh, that came from *Concord* to aſſiſt their neighbours at *Sudbury*, a town diſtant five miles from them, at the firſt hearing of the alarm, who unawares were ſurpriſed near a Gariſon houſe, in hope of getting ſome advantage upon a ſmall Party of the enemy that preſented themſelves in a Meadow; a great number of *Indians* that lay unſeen in the buſhes, ſuddenly roſe up, and intercepting the paſſage to the Gariſon houſe, killed and took them all.

But our ſorrows and loſſes that day are not yet come to their height; for in the after part of the ſame day, that reſolute ſtout-hearted Souldier, Capt. *Wadsworth* (who had not long before, with not above forty men, reſcued *Lancaſter*, when it was in danger to have been all loſt at once) being ſent from *Boſton* with fifty Souldiers to relieve *Marlburrough*, having marched five and twenty miles, and then underſtanding the Enemy was gone through the Woods toward *Sudbury*: this unwearied Company, before ever they had taken any conſiderable reſt, marched immedietely back toward *Sudbury* (that lies ten miles nearer *Boſton*) and being come within a mile of the Town, they eſpyed a party of Indians not far from them, about an hundred, not more, as they conceived, theſe they might eaſily deal with; who retiring back a while, drew Capt. *Wadsworth* and his Company above a mile into the Woods, when on the ſudden a great body of the Enemy appeared, about five hundred as was thought, who compaſſing them in round, forced them to the top of an hill, where they made very ſtout reſiſtance a conſiderable while; but the night drawing on, and ſome of the Company beginning to ſcatter from the reſt, their fellows were forced to follow them, ſo as the Enemy taking the chaſe, purſued them on every ſide, as they made too haſty a retreat, by which accident, being ſo much overpowred by the Enemies numbers, they were moſt of them loſt: the Captain himſelf, with one Captain *Brocklebank* (a choice ſpirited man, much lamented by the Town of *Rowly* to which he belonged) and ſome others that fell into his Company as he marched along, ſcarce twenty eſcaping in all; ſo as another Captain and his fifty periſhed at that time, of as brave Souldiers as any were ever imployed in the preſent ſervice.

Thus as in former attempts of like nature; too much courage and eagerneſs in purſuit of the Enemy, hath added another fatal blow to this poor Country.

The ſame day another party of the *Engliſh* coming from *Brookefield*, whither they were ſent as a Convoy with Proviſion for the Gariſon, were in danger likewiſe of falling into the hands of the ſame Indians, yet riding upon a good ſpeed, and keeping their Guns always ready preſented

ſented againſt them they met, they never durſt fire at them: only three or four having unadviſedly firſt diſcharged their gunns againſt the Enemy, and falling too much in the reer of their Company, were cut off and loſt. It is reported by ſome that afterwards eſcaped, how they cruelly tortured five or ſix of the Engliſh that night: yet whatever their ſucceſs was this day, it was obſerved by ſome (at that time their Priſoners, and ſince releaſed) that they ſeemed very penſive after they came to their Quarters, ſhewing no ſuch ſigns of rejoycing, as they uſually were wont to doe in like caſe; whither for the loſs of ſome of their own Company in that dayes enterpriſe, (ſaid to be an hundred and twenty) or whither it were the Devil in whom they truſted, and to whom they made their addreſs the day before, by ſundry Conjurations of their *Powawes*? or whither it were by any dread that the Almighty ſent upon their ſpirits, upon their execrable Blaſphemies, which tis ſaid they uſed in the torturing of ſome of their poor Captives (bidding Jeſus come and deliver them out of their hands from death if he could) we leave as uncertain, though ſome have ſo reported, yet ſure it is that after this day, they never proſpered in any attempt they made againſt the Engliſh, but were continually ſcattered and broken, till they were in a manner all conſumed. After this time, however they had braved it before, they ſeemed to apprehend that it was ſcarce feaſible for them to withſtand the power of the Engliſh, and therefore ſeemed more inclinable to a peace, by ſeveral overtures made by them, if they knew how to have brought it about. For during theſe encounters they were willing to admit of ſome kind of treaty with the Engliſh, about the releaſing of ſundry of their Captives, which they took at *Lancaſter* in *February* laſt, and elſewhere: To that end ſundry attempts were made by help of ſeveral of the *Praying Indians* (as they uſe to be called) about the redemption of ſome of the women and children, which were at time in their poſſeſſion, & by degrees ſomething was effected that way: poſſibly their own preſent ſufferings and wants that were upon them, might induce them thereunto: For by this time the Spring of the year came on, their proviſion was all ſpent, and they forced to live wholly upon ground-nuts, and upon the fleſh of the Engliſh creatures, both horſe & neat cattle, which they daily plundered. The Ground-nuts running up to ſeed in the ſummer, began to grow ſo ſticky, as they were ſcarce eatable; the fleſh alſo of the Engliſh cattle proving unwholſome for their Bodyes, filling them with ſundry diſeaſes. One of them having eaten much horſe-fleſh, complained that he had before eaten horſe, and now horſe began to eat him, meaning ſome deadly diſeaſe growing upon his

eating ſuch ranke fleſh, unwholſome for their Bodyes, eſpecially without ſalt, as their uſual manner is. The fiſhing ſeaſon alſo began now to come in, wherein they uſe to take abundance of all ſorts, with which thoſe great Rivers up the Country are abundantly ſtored: they uſe to take thereof, and drying it in the ſmoak, make proviſion thereof for the greateſt part of the year; and if the warr continued, they could not but ſee they ſhould utterly be cut off therefrom, and that if the planting ſeaſon alſo were loſt, they ſhould be in great want of ſummer fruits, *ſc.* beans and ſquaſhes (beſides their corn) with which they were wont to live all the latter part of the ſummer. Upon all conſiderations, they ſeemed pretty inclinable to hearken to a peace, though ſome were apt to think they would never have kept it, further then would ſtand with their own advantage, and that their preſent deſire thereof was only to gain time.

A perſon formerly acquainted with the *Indians* about *Lancaſter*, did adventure upon the forementioned overtures, to goe amongſt them to try if he could not prevail with them for the redemption of the Miniſters wife, taken Captive in *Febraury* laſt from *Lancaſter*, and through the favour of him who having the hearts of all in his hand, inclines them as he pleaſes, obtained the deſired end upon an inconſiderable ſum, which gave encouragement to the Councell to ſend two Meſſengers on the like errand the ſame week, to procure the redemption of others, not without ſucceſs: The former, *viz.* Mrs. *Rowlandſon* being brought to *Boſton* upon the Election day, *May*, 3*d.* it was generally looked at as a ſmile of providence, and doubtleſs was a return of prayer, and anſwer of faith, with which her husband had been upheld, and ſupported from the day of her Captivity; his two children alſo were returned back not long after, more by the over-ruling hand of God (*that turns the Captivity of his people as the ſtreames of the South*; and ſometimes inclining them to pitty his Servants, that are of themſelves more cruell then the Sea-monſters) then by any other contrivance of mans policy,

And yet notwithſtanding motions of this nature about the redemption of ſome of our Priſoners ſtill in their hands, there was no ceſſation of armes between us.

About this time Letters were ſent down from *Connecticut Colony*, informing the General Court then aſſembled at *Boſton*, that ſome of the *Mohawkes* (a ſort of fierce and ſavage *Indians*, yet mortal enemyes to theſe we were at warrs withall) had fallen upon ſome of *Philips* Party, and deſtroyed many of them: likewiſe that many of them were deſtroyed by Feavers and Fluxes, with other diſtempers falling amongſt them,

which

which was ſome reviving to our hopes, that the foot of our enemy ſhould ſlide in due time, and that deſtruction was haſtning upon them, though ſtill they were permitted to do miſchief in ſundry particular places of the Country, which muſt be minded as we paſs along.

Thoſe Indians that were our profeſſed enemies, after they had been beaten out of the *Narrhaganſet Country*, *Febr.* 1. tarried awhile at *Winimazeag*, a place two days journey north of *Quabaog*, where they divided themſelves into two Companies, one of them tarried on that ſide the Country, the other made toward *Plimouth Colony*, taking *Medfield* in their way, from whence as they marched along they met with a notable repulſe at *Boggiſton*, a ſmall Hamlet, or Company of Farms not far from the ſaid *Medfield* where they attempted a Garriſon, but meeting with ſtout reſiſtance, they left the enterprize, and kept on their way toward *Plimouth* Colony, where they ſcattered themſelves up and down, waiting for opportunityes to ſpoil and deſtroy the Engliſh Plantations on that ſide of the Country.

Beſides what is already mentioned, on *May*, 11. a party of them aſſaulted the town of *Plimouth*, burnt eleven houſes and five barns belonging thereunto: on the other ſide, a ſmall party of the Engliſh ſcouting about in purſuit of the Indians, fell upon a Party of them, that lay waiting in ambuſh, but being diſcerned by an Indian in the Company of our men that gave timely notice, our ſouldiers had an opportuity thereby to make the firſt ſhot, and thereby not only prevented a miſchief to themſelves, but killed alſo ſome of the enemy, (one of whom was obſerved to be of more note then his fellows by his attire) the reſt fled away from them that purſued, though but a ſmall company; ſo that there were daily reciprocal acts of hoſtility in thoſe parts.

Within a few dayes after this, ſeven houſes and two barns more were burnt by the enemy, in and about *Plimouth*: who did the like miſchief about the ſame time to the remaining houſes of *Namasket* or *Middleborough*.

About this time, another ſort of Indians that belonged to *Wameſit* a place near *Chelmsford*, bordering upon *Merrimack* (who had been provoked by the raſh, unadviſed, cruel act of ſome of the Engliſh, about *Octob.* 27. and *Novemb.* 4. had fired upon them ſeveral gunns, both at *Chelmsford* and *Woburn*, to the killing of ſome, and wounding of others upon ſuſpition that the ſaid Indians were guilty of burning a Barn, and Hay-ſtack not far off) ſuddenly turned our enemies, after the winter was over; having firſt withdrawn themſelves from the place aſſigned them, and where they had been relieved all the winter (ſome of them

after a former revolt) and took their opportunity to fire Mr. *Falconers* houſe in *Andover* town early that Spring, and wounded one *Roger Marks*, and killed his horſe. Two more houſes about *Shawſhin* beyond the ſaid *Andover*, were burned about *Mar.* 10. Alſo they killed a young man of the ſaid town, *Apr.* 8. the ſon of *George Abbot*; And another ſon of his alſo was carried away the ſame day, who yet was returned ſome few moneths after, almoſt pined to death with hunger.

At the ſame time they killed ſome of their Cattle, cutting out only the tongues of ſome of them for haſte, being ſhot at by ſeveral of the Inhabitants from their Garriſons.

Mar. 10. At *Concord* two men going for Hay one of them was killed.

At *Chelmsford*, the ſaid *Wameſit Indians*, about *March* 18 before, fell upon ſome houſes on the north ſide of the River; burnt down three or four that belonged to the Family of *Edward Colburn*: the ſaid *Colburn*, with *Samuel Varnham* his neighbour, being purſued, as they paſſed over the River to look after their Cattle on that ſide of the river; and making ſeveral ſhots againſt them, who returned the like again upon the ſaid Indians, (judged to be about forty) what ſucceſs they had upon the enemy, was beſt known to themſelves; but two of *Varnhams* ſons were ſlain by the enemyes ſhot before they could recover the other ſide of the River. *Apr.* 15. alſo were 14. or 15. houſes burnt there.

Not long before this, *Febr.* 1. 1675. *Tho. Eames* that kept a Farm at *Sudbury*, whoſe dwelling was three or four miles out of the town, had his houſe aſſaulted and fired, his wife killed, and his children carried Captive among the Indians.

Alſo two men were killed at a Farm about *Concord*, *Iſaac* and *Jacob Shepard* by name, about the middle of *February*, and a young maid that was ſet to watch upon an hill, of about 15. years of age, was carried Captive; who ſtrangly eſcaped away upon an horſe that the Indians had taken from *Lancaſter* a little before. In the like ſtrange manner did one of *Eames* his children eſcape away about *May* 3. laſt; travelling thirty miles alone in the woods, without any relief till he came to an Engliſh town. *Eames* his houſe was aſſaulted when himſelf was from home, by an *Indian* called *Netus* (not long after ſlain at *Malborough*) which had been very familiar with the *Engliſh*, with nine or ten more of his company, as perfidious and barbarous as himſelf: They burned all the dwellings that belonged to the Farm, Corn, Hay and Cattle, beſides the dwelling houſe with what was therein; it is probable thoſe at *Concord* were killed by the ſame hands about a fortnight after.

Many ſuch like remarkable inſtances of ſpecial providences might be

be mentioned, if it were convenient to inſert ſuch particular paſſages into the general Narrative of the late troubles from our barbarous enemies.

On *May* 3. a party of them killed a man at *Haverhill*, upon the edge of *Merrimack River*; and paſſing over the ſaid River to *Bradford*, ſpoiled another Family; killing one *Thomas Kemball*, and carrying his wife and five Children captive, forty miles up into the woods; although it was queſtioned whether this laſt miſchief were done by any of *Philips* party, but rather by ſome that belonged to the Eaſtward *Indians*, of which there may be occaſion (God willing) to ſpeak more afterward.

For the ſuppreſſing of theſe inſolencies, ſeveral Companies of freſh ſouldiers, both horſe and Foot were raiſed in the *Maſſachuſets*, by the Governour and Council of that Colony, and ſent out to ſuppreſs the common enemy; the Foot under the command of Capt. *Sill*, Capt. *Cutler*, Capt. *Holbrook*, the Horſe under the Command of Capt. *Brattle*, Capt. *Prentice*, Capt. *Henchman*, Commander in chief: theſe ſeveral Companies modelled as aforeſaid, were ſent out *Apr.* 27. 1676. to range the woods towards *Haſſanameſit*.

Upon the 6. of *May*, they met with a conſiderable party of the enemy: they were firſt diſcovered by the *Natick* ſcouts purſuing a Bear & at the firſt not diſcerning that the *Natick* Indian ſcouts belonged to our men, it gave ſome advantage to our forces; our Horſemen falling upon them before they were well aware, killed and took of the Enemy about ſixteen, which they took notice of at the preſent, although it was confeſſed by the enemy, that they loſt twenty that encounter. It was reported that the ſounding of a trumpet without order, did much hurt, but the Commander in chief affirmeth, that it was no diſadvantage to the ſervice in hand, it neither being heard by our own Foot, nor yet by the enemy. If any error was committed by the Engliſh Companies, it was in that the Horſe did not timely enough draw down from the top of the hill, whereby they came to be diſcovered by the enemy; who thereupon made the more haſte to eſcape: However it was no ſmall loſs to the enemy, ſome of the ſlain being known to be conſiderable perſons; and it ſtruck ſuch a terror into them, that they never durſt face our men afterwards; for although after our men returned to their Quarters at *Medfield*, they ſaw two hundred fires in the night, yet they could never come near them again to fight any company of them: but the ſeaſon proving rainy, hindred any further purſuit of them at that time. And ſoon after this the ſouldiers being

viſited with ſickly diſtempers by reaſon of an Epidemical Cold at that time prevailing through the Country, they were for the preſent releaſed for the recovery of their health, with intent to be called together again at a more convenient time; this was done *May* the tenth.

During this interval of time, upon a report that a party of the Enemy that were diſcovered about *Rehoboth*, buſie in fiſhing in a River thereabouts, Capt. *Brattle* was ſent up about the 23d. of *May*, who with the help of ſome of the Inhabitants, killed eleven or twelve of them without the loſs but of one of our men: Had they not diſcovered ſome of ours on the oppoſite ſhoar, it was conceived a greater ſpoile might have been made amongſt them.

But in the next place we muſt take notice of the proceedings of the enemy about *Connecticut*: The greateſt Body of them made towards *Plimouth Colony* early in the Spring as was ſaid before, where we ſhall leave them for the preſent, and obſerve what the remainiug part of them did weſtward.

Some ſcattering partyes were skulking about *Springfield*, and thoſe lower towns, upon a ſmall numbe of whom Capt. *Holioke* (newly choſen Captain of *Springfield* in the room of his father lately deceaſed) handſelled his office, early in the Spring: for having notice of ſome of them in thoſe woods, he marched after them with ten or twelve reſolute young men, and waiting his opportunity, ſurprized them near the great River, ſo as two or three of them were left dead upon the place, another mortally wounded, got on to an Iſland in the river, where it was concluded he took his laſt nights lodging The other being ſorely wounded, was taken alive, and brought home to *Springfield*, where he confeſſed many things to one of the Inhabitants that underſtood their language, owning the truth in many things againſt his own company, and ſoon after dyed of hist wounds.

This was but a Preparative to an higher piece of ſervice, which Capt. *Holioke* was ſoon after engaged in, and wherein he acquitted himſelf beyond expectation, and taking more pains then ordinary, in making his retreat, he gat a Surfet, that ended his dayes in *September* following about *Boſton*.

About the beginning of *April* likewiſe ſome of the Inhabitants about *Hadly*, attending their tillage at *Hockanum*, within three miles of the town, and having a guard of ſouldiers with them, yet three of the company were caſually ſlain by a party of the enemy, that lay in wait for ſuch an opportunity. One of them was Mr. *Goodman*, a deacon

con of the *Church*, that went a little beyond the Command of the Souldiers that came to guard them, to view the fence of his own land: and two others that contrary to expreſs order, would venture upon the top of an high hill, neer by, to take a needleſs and unſeaſonable view of the Country, were ſhot down by the enemy before they could recover their *Corps du gard*.

But the great Company of the enemy, that ſtayed on that ſide of the Country, and about *Watchuſet Hills*, when the reſt went towards *Plimouth*, though they had been diſappointed in their planting, by the death of *Canonchet*, were loth to looſe the advantage of the fiſhing ſeaſon then coming in; wherefore having ſeated themſelves near the upper Falls of *Connecticut River*, not far from *Deerfield*, and perceiving that the Engliſh Forces were now drawn off from the lower towns of *Hadly* and *Northampton*, now and then took advantages to plunder them of their Cattle, and not fearing any aſſault from our Souldiers, grew a little ſecure, while they were upon their Fiſhing deſign, inſomuch that a couple of Engliſh lads lately taken captive by the enemy, and making their eſcape, acquainted their friends at home how ſecure they lay in thoſe places, which ſo animated the Inhabitants of *Hadly*, *Hatfield* and *Northampton*, that they being willing to be revenged for the loſs of their cattle, beſides other preceding miſchiefs, took up a reſolution with what ſtrength they could raiſe among themſelves (partly out of gariſon ſouldiers, and partly of the Inhabitants) to make an aſſault upon them, which if it had been done with a little more deliberation, waiting for the coming of ſupplyes expected from *Hartford*, might have proved a fatal buſineſs to all the ſaid Indians: yet was the victory obtained more conſiderable then at firſt was apprehended. For not having much above an hundred and fifty fighting men in their Company, they marched ſilently in the dead of the night, *May* 18. and came upon the ſaid Indians a little before break of day, whom they found almoſt in a dead ſleep, without any Scouts abroad, or watching about their wigwams at home; for in the evening they had made themſelves merry with new milk and roſt beef, having lately driven away many of their milch cows, as an Engliſh woman confeſſed, that was made to milk them.

When they came near the Indians rendezvouze, they allighted off their horſes, and tyed them to ſome young trees at a quarter of a miles diſtance, ſo marching up, they fired amain into their very wigwams, killing many upon the place, and frighting others with the ſudden alarm of their Gunns, made them run into the River, where the ſwiftneſs of the ſtream carrying them down a ſteep Fall, they periſhed in the wa-

ters, ſome getting into Canooes, (ſmall boats made of the barks of Birchen trees) which proved to them a *Charons* boat, being ſunk, or overſet, by the ſhooting of our men, delivered them into the like danger of the waters, giving them thereby a paſport into the other world: others of them creeping for ſhelter under the banks of the great river, were eſpyed by our men and killed with their ſwords, Capt. *Holioke* killing five, young and old, with his own hands from under a bank. When the Indians were firſt awakened with the thunder of their gunns, they cried out *Mohawks, Mohawks*, as if their own native enemies had been upon them: but the dawning of the light, ſoon notified their error, though it could not prevent the danger.

Such as came back ſpake ſparingly of the number of the ſlain, ſome ſay there could not in reaſon be leſs then two or three hundred of them that muſt neceſſarily periſh in the midſt of ſo many inſtruments of deſtruction managed againſt them with ſuch diſadvantages to themſelves. Some of their priſoners afterwards owned that they loſt above three hundred in that Camizado, ſome whereof were principal men Sachems, and ſome of their beſt fighting men that were left, which made the victory more conſiderable then elſe it would have been; nor did they ſeem ever to have recovered themſelves after this defeat, but their ruine immediately followed upon it. Yet ſuch was the awfull hand of Providence, in the cloſe of this victory, mixing much bitter with the ſweet, that it might well be called a coſtly victory to the Conquerors, that ſo no fleſh ſhould glory in it ſelf.

The Indians that lay ſcattering on both ſides of the river, after they recovered themſelves, and diſcovered the ſmall number of them that aſſailed them, turned head upon the Engliſh, who in their retreat were a little diſordered, for want of the help of the eldeſt Captain, that was ſo enfeebled by ſickneſs before he ſet out, that he was no way able for want of bodily ſtrength (not any way defective for want of skill or courage) to aſſiſt or direct in making the retreat: For ſome of the enemy fell upon the Guards that kept the horſes, others purſued them in the reer, ſo as our men ſuſtained pretty much damage as they retired, miſſing after their return thirty eight of their men: And if Capt. *Holioke* had not played the man at a more then ordinary rate, ſometimes in the Front, ſometimes in the flank and reer, at all times encouraging the ſouldiers, it might have proved a fatal buſineſs to the aſſailants. The ſaid Capt. *Holiokes* horſe was ſhot down under him, and himſelf ready to be aſſaulted by many of the Indians, juſt coming upon him, but diſcharging his piſtolls upon one or two of them, whom he

pre-

preſently diſpatched, and another friend coming up to his reſcue, he was ſaved, and ſo carried off the ſouldiers without any further loſs.

It is confidently reported by ſome that were there preſent at this engagement, that one told above an hundred Indians left dead upon the place; and another affirmed that he told near an hundred and forty ſwimming down the Falls, none of which were obſerved to get alive to ſhore, ſave one.

The loſs that befell our men in the retreat, was occaſioned principally by the bodily weakneſs of Capt. *Turner*, unable to manage his charge any longer, yet ſome ſay they wanted powder, which forced them to retire as faſt as they could by Capt. *Turners* order.

It is ſaid alſo by one preſent at the fight, that ſeven or eight in the reer of the Engliſh, through haſte miſſed their way, and were never heard of again; and without doubt fell into the Indians hands, and it is feared ſome of them were tortured.

About ſeven dayes after this, they were minded to try the chance of War again, and ſee if they could not recover their loſs, by returning the like upon the Engliſh: For,

May 30. A great number of them appeared before *Hatfield*, fired about twelve houſes and barns without the Fortification of the town, driving away multitudes of their Cattle, and their Sheep, ſpreading themſelves in the meadow near the town: which bravado ſo raiſed the courage of their neighbours at *Hadly*, that twenty five reſolute young men ventured over the river, to relieve *Hatfield* in this diſtreſs, who charged the enemy with ſuch undaunted courage and reſolution (*Audaces fortuna juvat*) that they beat down five or ſix at the firſt ſhot they made, ſo making way through the thickeſt of their enemies, that lay ready to take aim at them behind every tree, as they paſſed by; yet they eſcaped all their ſhot till they came within a little of the town they came to relieve, where they loſt five of their twenty five.

The enemy being amazed at the reſolution of our men, being but ſo ſmall an handfull, that they fled immediately from the town, having loſt twenty five of their men in the enterprize.

The Council of the *Maſſachuſets*, gathering by theſe proceedings of the Indians, that their deſire of peace was only to gain time, Ordered that the forces raiſed before *Apr.* 27. and for a time releaſed ſhould be haſtned out again to range the woods towards *Hadly*, and thoſe parts; made an agreement with *Hartford Colony* to ſend forces from thence to meet them about *Brookfield*, & ſo to ſcoure along on both ſides *Connecticut River*, to diſreſt the enemy what they could, & keep them from fiſhing in thoſe waters, their hope of planting being now almoſt over.

To this end about *May* 30. 1676. the Forces under Capt. *Henchman* were called together again, and ſent to *Brookfield* to meet with thoſe expected from *Hartford Colony*: In the way, ours by the direction of *Tom. Doublet* (a *Natick Indian*, who was a little before imployed in the redemption of Captives) following tracks of Indians, came upon a party of the enemy fiſhing in *Weſhacom Ponds* toward *Lancaſter*, of whom they killed ſeven, & took 29. moſt women and Children; yet belonging to conſiderable Perſons, it made the ſucceſs the more to be valued. Our Forces being by this means retarded, could not meet with thoſe of *Connecticut* at *Brookfield*; but followed them the week after; having firſt returned from *Weſhacom* to *Malborough* to ſupply themſelves with ammunition; and ſo marched directly towards *Hadly*, where they met with *Connecticut Forces*; and from thence accoding to mutual agreement, ours marched on the eaſt ſide of the river, and *Connecticut Forces* on the Weſt, up toward *Squakheag*, coming to *Deerfield*, & the great Falls thereabouts, they ſent up their Scouts; but not hearing of the enemy, they marched up no higher, being in no good capacity to have gone further if there had been occaſion, by reaſon of a tedious Storm of rain, which occaſioned much damage in their Amunition and Proviſion. While our Forces lay about *Deerfield*, ſome of our ſouldiers ranging lighted upon the Body of Capt. *Turner*, about *Greens River*, in paſſing of which ſtream he was ſuppoſed to have received his mortal wounds.

While our Forces continued thereabouts, they did the enemy ſome little ſpoile in ſeizing much of their Fiſh, & goods ſtolen from the Engliſh, & hid in their barns, under ground; conjecturing alſo that they found 4. or 5. places where ſome of the Engliſh had been tortured to death by cruel burning, after they had been faſtned between ſtakes ſet in the ground: but not meeting with any of the enemy; they all haſted homewards, conceiving that having been forced from their quarters in thoſe parts, they were drawn down lower, towards the Engliſh plantations, eaſtward *viz. Plimouth* and the *Maſſachuſets*. What ſucceſs C. *Henchman's* forces had in their retiring homeward, and what they obſerved of the motion of the Indians, take in the words of his own Letter *June*, 30. "—*Our Scouts brought intelligence, that all the Indians were in a continu-*
"*al motion, ſome toward* Narrhaganſet, *others toward* Watchuſet, *ſhifting*
"*gradually, and taking up each others Quarters, and lay not above a night in*
"*a place. They* 27. ditto, *brought in two Squaws, a boy & a girle, giving*
"*account of five ſlain. Yeſterday, they brought in an old fellow brother to a*
"*Sachem, ſix Squaws & children, having killed five men, & wounded*
"*others if not killed them, as they ſuppoſed by the blond found in the way, and*
"*an hat ſhot through. Theſe and the other inform that* Philip *and the*
"Narrhaganſets *were gone ſeveril dayes before to their own places. By-*

lips *purpose being to doe what mischief he could to the English. By advice I drew out a commanded Party under the conduct of Capt.* Sill, *viz. sixteen Files of English, all my Troop, and the Indians, excepting one File, bring all we could make provision for, for what with the falling short of the Bread promised us, and a great deal of that we had proving mouldy, the rest of the Forces had but one Bisket a man to bring them to this place: This party were ordered towara* Watchuset, *and so to* Nashaway *and the* Washakem Ponds, *where we have notice Indians were, and so to return unto this place. whereby your Honours Letter that came to me yesterday morning I understood that provision was ordered for us, and which we found to our great relief, which we found last night coming hither weary and hungry. The commanded Party we left at* Quonsiquomon, *where they intended to stay awhile for the last Scouts we sent out: Eleven Prisoners we had in all, two of the oldest by counsel we put to death, the other nine the Commissary is ordered to convey to* Boston, *with the Baggage, horses and some of their attendants not fit for the Service.*

Daniel Henchman.

It appears plainly by the contents of the said Letter, as well as by many other testimonyes, that about this time the Indians our Enemyes, who hitherto had been linked together as Brethren in iniquity, and cruelty, were now strangly divided and seperated the one from the other: some impute it to an assault made upon them by the *Mohawkes*, who falling upon *Philip* with the Inland Indians, slew about fifty of them, whereupon they of *Philips* Company resolved to return to their own Country, and doe what mischief they could to the English thereabouts: This was reported by an Indian brought to *Seacook, June*, 29. 1676. taken at *Providence*. Others are ready to think, that it was upon some quarrel amongst themselves, occasioned by an evill spirit sent from God upon them, that thereby they might, being scattered, the more easily be taken and ruined by the English, now that the time of vengeance was come, when they shall be called to an account for all their former outrages and cruelties; for now is the snare hastning upon them, wherein they shall be hampered in their own devices, so to be taken and destroyed: it cannot but be acknowledged as a very remarkable Providence, that Capt. *Henchman* in his late expedition to *Hadly*, killed and took about eighty four of the Enemy, without the loss of any one of his own men: the like favourable success hapned to Major

Talcot

Talcot, in his paſſage from *Norwich* to *Quabaog*, as was ſaid before, and ſoon after his return.

But by that time our Forces were returned home as far as *Sudbury*, they were ordered upon the ſolicitation of the Governour of *Plimouth*, two Companies of them at leaſt, to march away immediately to *Dedham*, and ſo to *Seaconk* or *Rehoboth*, to joyn with Major *Bradford* in the purſuit of *Philip*, who was it ſeems with many hundreds of his Barbarous Followers fallen upon the Engliſh Plantations thereabouts, and whither alſo a little before, Capt. *Brattle* with a Troop of Horſe, and Captain *Moſely* with a Foot Company were ſent up from *Boſton* to purſue after them, now flocking in great numbers into thoſe Woods; there was at this time no ſmall hope of ſurprizing *Philip*: ſeveral reports being brought that he was ſeen in this and that place, not with above twenty or thirty men attending on him: but his time was not yet fully come, nor had he as yet fully accompliſhed all that miſchief, he was like to be ſuffered to do: For upon *July* 1*ſt*. 1676. a party of his Indians committed an horrid and barbarous Murder upon Mr. *Hezekiah Willet* in *Swanzy*, an hopeful young Gentleman, as any in thoſe parts; they uſed frequently to keep a Sentinel on the top of their Houſe, from a Watch-houſe built thereon, whence they could diſcover any Indians before they came near the houſe, but not hearing of the Enemy in thoſe parts for a conſiderable time, that neceſſary piece of circumſpection was omitted that day, whereby that deſerving perſon was betrayed into their cruel hands, for within a quarter of an hour after he went out of his own doors, within ſight of his Houſe, he was ſhot at by three of them at once, from every one of whom he received a mortal wound; they after their barbarous manner took off his head, and carried it away with them (which yet was ſoon after recovered) leaving the Trunk of his body behind, as a ſad monument of their inhumane cruelty: the ſame Indians, not being above thirty in number, took away a *Negro* belonging to the ſame Family, who being faithful to his Maſters, and the Countries intereſt, ventured his life to make his eſcape, which was the preſervation of many others: for the ſaid *Negro* being a little acquainted with their Language, diſcovered to the Engliſh after his eſcape, *Philips* purpoſe to ſeize ſuch and ſuch places: in the firſt place to aſſault *Taunton*, which in all probability had been in great danger, if their treacherous plots and purpoſes had not ſo wonderfully been made known before hand. The ſaid *Negro* affirmed, that there was near a thouſand of them, for he obſerved, that although they had killed twenty head of Neat Cattle over night, yet there was not any part of them left the

next

Next day at *eight of the Clock* in the morning: by this *special Providence* the Enemy was defeated of *their purpose*, and never after had any opportunity of doing any *considerable damage* to the English in that part of the Country. So as after this day we may truly date the time of *our Deliverance*, and beginning of *Revenges* upon the Enemy: Now is their own *time come*, when it shall be *done unto them*, as they have *served us*: They that before *led others into Captivity*, must themselves hence forth *go into Captivity*: And they that *killed with the Sword*, must themselves be *killed with the Sword*, as in *the Sequel* of this *Narrative* will abundantly be manifest; The History of which before we shall any farther pursue, we must a little while wait upon *our Friends*, (those *Forces* sent from *Connecticut*) in their *return back* into their own Colony, which before it be done, some things should be premised concerning the *occasion* of their coming, and the Success that did attend them in their march thither.

Our Friends and Brethren of that Colony, although they had never actually felt *half of those miseries*, that befell the people of the other two, yet never denyed *their Assistance* to the suppressing of the *common Enemy*, yea, sometimes they did afford it, before it was *expressly desired*; according to *the Tenor* of the *Articles* of *Confederation*, and Rules of common prudence; considering that if the *fire of this War* were not timely *extinguished*, it would endanger their own *Fabrick*: Therefore according to Agreement, the Counsel of that Colony ordered their successful Commander *Major Talcot* to meet with our Forces at *Brookfield*, or *Quabaog* in order to the pursuing of the Enemy in those parts; In the way as they were from *Norwich* marching thither, *Divine Providence* so far smiled upon the Enterprize, as to give them an opportunity to surprize *fifty one of the Enemy*, of whom *nineteen were slain*, without the loss of any *one of their own Company*, which could not but much *enhanse the price* of the *victory* to the *Conquerers*.

The like Success had their friends which they left behind (the Volunteers gathered out of the *three Towns* by the Sea side, *New-London*, *Stonington*, and *Norwich*,) and who were some of them released by *Major Talcot*, when he first began his March, that they might the better in the absence of the Army, *guard their own Towns*: for before the return of the Forces under *Major Talcot*, to that side of the Country, they had made *two Expeditions* against their Enemyes the *Narrhaganssets*, that were *skulking up and down* on that side of the Country; In one of which they killed and took above *thirty*, the most of which being men, are said to *have been slain* by them.

This shot repeats the previous one, but with different lighting.

Talcot, in his paſſage from *Norwich* to *Quabaog*, as was ſaid before, and ſoon after his return.

But by that time our Forces were returned home as far as *Suabury*; they were ordered upon the ſolicitation of the Governour of *Plimouth*, two Companies of them at leaſt, to march away immediately to *Dedham*, and ſo to *Seaconk* or *Rehoboth*, to joyn with Major *Bradford* in the purſuit of *Philip*, who was it ſeems with many hundreds of his Barbarous Followers fallen upon the Engliſh Plantations thereabouts, and whither alſo a little before, Capt. *Brattle* with a Troop of Horſe, and Captain *Moſely* with a Foot Company were ſent up from *Boſton* to purſue after them, now flocking in great numbers into thoſe Woods; there was at this time no ſmall hope of ſurprizing *Philip*: ſeveral reports being brought that he was ſeen in this and that place, not with above twenty or thirty men attending on him: but his time was not yet fully come, nor had he as yet fully accompliſhed all that miſchief, he was like to be ſuffered to do: For upon *July* 1*ſt*. 1676. a party of his Indians committed an horrid and barbarous Murder upon Mr. *Hezekiah Willet* in *Swanzy*, an hopeful young Gentleman, as any in thoſe parts; they uſed frequently to keep a Sentinel on the top of their Houſe, from a Watch-houſe built thereon, whence they could diſcover any Indians before they came near the houſe, but not hearing of the Enemy in thoſe parts for a conſiderable time, that neceſſary piece of circumſpection was omitted that day, whereby that deſerving perſon was betrayed into their cruel hands, for within a quarter of an hour after he went out of his own doors, within ſight of his Houſe, he was ſhot at by three of them at once, from every one of whom he received a mortal wound; they after their barbarous manner took off his head, and carried it away with them (which yet was ſoon after recovered) leaving the Trunk of his body behind, as a ſad monument of their inhumane cruelty: the ſame Indians, not being above thirty in number, took away a *Negro* belonging to the ſame Family, who being faithful to his Maſters, and the Countries intereſt, ventured his life to make his eſcape, which was the preſervation of many others; for the ſaid *Negro* being a little acquainted with their Language, diſcovered to the Engliſh after his eſcape, *Philips* purpoſe to ſeize ſuch and ſuch places: in the firſt place to aſſault *Taunton*, which in all probability had been in great danger, if their treacherous plots and purpoſes had not ſo wonderfully been made known before hand. The ſaid *Negro* affirmed, that there was near a thouſand of them. for he obſerved, that although they had killed twenty head of Neat Cattle over night, yet there was not any part of them left the

Next day at *eight of the Clock* in the morning: by this *ſpecial Providence* the Enemy was defeated of *their purpoſe*, and never after had any opportunity of doing any *conſiderable damage* to the Engliſh in that part of the Country. So as after this day we may truly date the time of *our Deliverance*, and beginning of *Revenges* upon the Enemy: Now is their own *turne come*, when it ſhall be *done unto them*, as they have *ſerved us*: They that before *led others into Captivity*, muſt themſelves hence forth *go into Captivity*: And they that *killed with the Sword*, muſt themſelves be *killed with the Sword*, as in *the Sequel* of this *Narrative* will abundantly be manifeſt; The Hiſtory of which before we ſhall any farther purſue, we muſt a little while wait upon *our Friends*, (thoſe *Forces* ſent from *Connecticut*) in their *return back* into their own Colony, which before it be done, ſome things ſhould be premiſed concerning the *occaſion* of their coming, and the Succeſs that did attend them in their march thither.

Our Friends and Brethren of that Colony, although they had never actually felt *half of thoſe miſeries*, that befell the people of the other two, yet never denyed *their Aſſiſtance* to the ſuppreſſing of the *common Enemy*, yea, ſometimes they did afford it, before it was *expreſly deſired*; according to *the Tenor* of the *Articles* of *Confederation*, and Rules of common prudence; conſidering that if the *fire of this War* were not timely *extinguiſhed*, it would endanger their own *Fabrick*: Therefore according to Agreement, the Councel of that Colony ordered their ſucceſsful Commander *Major Talcot* to meet with our Forces at *Brookfield*, or *Quabaog* in order to the purſuing of the Enemy in thoſe parts; In the way as they were from *Norwich* marching thither, *Divine Providence* ſo far ſmiled upon the Enterprize, as to give them an opportunity to ſurprize *fifty one of the Enemy*, of whom *nineteen were ſlain*, without the loſs of any *one of their own Company*, which could not but much *enhanſe the price* of the *victory* to the *Conquerers*.

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In the other about *forty five*, the moſt of which probably were *women and Children*, but being all *young Serpents* of the ſame brood, the ſubduing or taking ſo many, ought to be acknowledged as another *ſignal victory*, and pledge of *Divine favour* to the Engliſh. But to return, it was not without the *ſpecial direction* of Providence that thoſe *Hartford Forces* were ſent to thoſe *Weſtern Towns* a *week before* thoſe of the *Maſſachuſets* could *get thither*; for otherwiſe one or more of thoſe Towns might have been loſt; ſeeing that on the *twelfth of June*, ſoon after, if not the next day, after they arrived there; The Enemy, as if reſolved to try the utmoſt of their power, *violently aſſaulted* the Town of *Hadly*, with a body of about *ſeven hundred men*, at *five or ſix* in the morning, laying an *Ambuſh* at one end of the Town, while the greater part of them were alarming the other: But the *Connecticut Forces* being at that time quartered in the Towns thereabouts, (who were *Engliſh*, and *friendly Indians*, *Pequods*, and *Mohegins*, about *five hundred* in all) that were ready at hand, beſides, thoſe that had been *quartered there*, ever ſince *March*, (who had been left by *Major Savage* when he left thoſe parts, under the Command and Charge of *Captain Turner*, ſlain at the great *Falls*, as is noted before,) but ſince commanded by *Captain Swain*. Theſe by their *joynt and ready reſiſtance*, wherein the *Fence of Palizadoes* ſurrounding the Town, was no little advantage, gave the Indians ſuch a *ſmart Repulſe*, that they found the place *too hot for them* to abide it. For the Souldiers or *Towns-men* within, firing a *piece of Ordnance*, it ſo affrighted *the Salvages*, or a party of them, againſt whom it was diſcharged, that although they had juſt before *ſurprized & poſſeſſed an houſe* at the *North end* of the Town, if Information miſtake not, yet they inſtantly fled, leaving ſome of their dead upon the place; Nor did they any conſiderable miſchief with all their numbers, ſave *firing a Barne* about that end of the Town, and ſlaying *two or three of the Souldiers*, or too daring Inhabitants, who would againſt *expreſs order* adventure to go without the *Fortification*.

It was accounted by ſome, that were preſent near the time of that *Aſſault*, a great *over ſight*, that having ſo fair an opportunity to chaſe the Enemy upon ſo conſiderable advantage, it was *let ſlip*, and not improved: For *Connecticut Souldiers* being all, or moſt of them furniſhed with *horſes*, they might have been *ſoon overtaken*, and many of them deſtroyed: but God hid it from their Eyes; The *Commander in chief*, it is ſaid, quartered at one of the Towns on the *Weſt ſide of the River*, and did not apprehend the advantage, till the Seaſon was over: Nor was any ſuch thing as *an Aſſault* expected from the Enemy, ſo early in the

morning;

morning; It being a general obſervation heretofore, that they ſeldome, or never vſed to make any Attempt in the *night time*; part of which could not but be improved in way of *preparation* for ſuch a deſigne.

But the *Lord of Hoſts* who is *wiſe in Counſel*, and *wonderful in working*, would find ſome other way to deſtroy our Enemies, wherein the *hand of his Providence*, ſh u'd more *remarkeably be ſeen*, that ſo *no fleſh ſhould glory* in its own wiſdom or ſtrength, but that Sa'vation might appear, to be from the Lord alone. The reſt of this Month was ſp nt without any other matter of moment happening therein.

The Governour and Council of the *Maſſachuſets*, taking into ſerious conſideration, the many *merciful O currents* that had been returned upon us, notwithſtanding the mixing of many diſpenſations of a contrary nature, accounted themſelves bound to make ſome pub'ick acknowledgment thereof, to him wh o e Name alone is worthy to be praiſed. The 29*th.* of that month of *June*, was ſet apart as a day of pub'ick Thanksgiving to God, who had remembred his people thus in their low Eſtate. And that matter of *Thanksgiving* might not be wanting at the day appointed, the very day before were moſt of our *Engliſh Captives* brought back from the Indians, and many more ſoon after, to the number of *ſixteen*, whoſe m uths might then well be filled with *Laughter*, and their *Tongues* with *ſinging*, both of themſelves, and all that were any wayes concerned in their welfare.

And as this day appointed for *ſolemn* and *publick Thanksgiving*, was uſhered in by ſeveral ſpecial mercies, ſo alſo was it followed with many *remarkable benefits*.

For beſides the preſerving the Town of *North-Hampton*, *March*, *the fourteenth*, and *Hadl*, *June the twelfth*, by the *opportune ſending* of *our Forces* the very n ght before they were *Aſſaulted*: The ſaving the people of *Marlborough* from being *cut off*, was *very obſervable*, when *Mr. Graves* by his *occaſional* going from the *Sermon*, being forced thereunto by the *extremity* of the *Tooth Ach*, *March*, 26. diſcovered the Indians ready to *Aſſault the Town*, and ſo elſe the people might have been *cut off*, had not that *Accident Intervened*. It is certain, that after the end of this *Month*, the power of *the Enemy* began every where to *fail*; for the *Body* of the *Enemy*, that had *lurked* about *Connecticut River* all this Spring, being viſited with *ſundry diſeaſes*, diſappointed of *their fiſhing*, and put by *their planting*, began to fall at variance amongſt themſelves; the *Hadly* and *Pocumtuck Indians* quarrelling with *Philip* for fetching all this *miſchief* about, and occaſioning the *Engliſh* and them to *fall out*, with whom they had alwayes *good Correſpondence*, and lived *lovingly*

together, but now they were like to be ruined by the *War*. This *quarrel* proceeded to that *height*, that from that time forward, thoſe ſeveral Indians that had for ſo long time been *combined together*, reſolved now to part, and every one to *ſhift for themſelves*, and return to their *own homes*: *Philip* to *Mount-hope*, and the *Narrhaganſets* to their own Country again: the *Nipnets* and the *River Indians*, bending their courſe ſome *Weſtward*, others *North-ward* towards *Pennicook* upon *Merrimack*, intending to *ſhift for themſelves*, as well as they could for the future; all which is like to be the real and true ſtate of the Caſe with the Indians which were our Enemies: for the next News we heard of *Philip*, was that he was gotten back to *Mount-Hope*, now like to become *Mount-Miſery* unto him, and his *Vagabond Crew*, and that his *Friends* and *Allyes*, that had hitherto ſtood as *Neuters*, waiting only which way the Scale of Succeſs and Victory would turn, began now to ſue for mercy at the hands of the *Engliſh*: The *Maſſachuſets* Government having underſtood ſomething of this nature, put forth a *Declaration*, that whatſoever Indians ſhould within *fourteen dayes* next enſuing come in to the *Engliſh*, might hope for *mercy*.

Amongſt ſundry that came in, there was one named *James* the *Printer* the *Superadded Title* diſtinguiſhing him from others of that name: who being a *notorious Apoſtate*, that had learned ſo much of the *Engliſh*, as not only to read and write, but had attained likewiſe ſome skill in printing, and might have attained more, (had he not like a *falſe Villain* ran away from his *Maſter* before his time was out) he having ſeen and read the ſaid *Declaration* of the *Engliſh*, did venture himſelf upon the Faith thereof, and came to ſue for his Life; he affirmed, with others that came along with him, that more Indians had dyed ſince this *War* began of diſeaſes (ſuch as at other times they uſed not to be acquainted withal) than by the Sword of the *Engliſh*.

Not long after many of them came and offered themſelves, to the number of near *two hundred*, *Men*, *Women*, and *Children*; and many more would have done the like, but their *Conſciouſneſs* of *guilt* made them conclude, that their *Cruelties* and *barbarous Murthers* could never be forgiven by the *Engliſh*.

But what *Occurrents* happened next ſhall be declared in their order.

About the end of *June* News was brought to *Boſton*, that *Philip* with a *ſmall party* of his men, lurked about *Swanzy* or *Rehoboth*, & that he might eaſily be taken; an Indian offering to bring them to the place where they might find him; whereupon *Souldiers* was *inſtantly ſent away*, *from Boſton* who ſpent ſome time in ſearching all the *woods* on *that ſide of the Country*, but

but at laſt were forced to return having miſſed of what they aimed at.

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The like ſucceſs had the *Connecticut Forces* ſent into the *Narrhaganſet Country* under the conduct of the wonderfully ſucceſsful Major *Talcot*, Capt. *George Deniſon*, Capt. *Newbery*, with other worthy Commanders of the ſaid Forces; for about the ſecond of *July*, 1676, As the ſaid Commanders with the Forces under them were purſuing the Enemy in, and about the *Narrhaganſet Country* toward *Mount-hope*, hearing that *Philip* with his black Regiment of *Wompanoags* was thereabouts, their Indian Scouts from the top of an hill diſcovered a great number of the enemy that had newly pitched their Station within the ſemicircle of a Swampe. The Engliſh Souldiers were all mounted on horſeback, to the number of near three hundred; wherefore the Commanders ordered the Indians to be ready at the top of the hill upon a ſignal given to run down amain upon the enemy ſecurely lodged in the hollow of the Swampe juſt oppoſite againſt them, while their Horſemen being divided into two ſquadrons to ride round the hill, ſo that at the ſame inſtant, both the Horſemen upon the two wings, and the Indians a foot ruſhing down ſuddenly upon the enemy put them into an horrible fright, making a lamentable outcry, ſome getting into the Swampe, the reſt that were prevented by the Horſemen, and the friendly Indians coming ſo ſuddenly upon them were all taken priſoners; Capt. *Newbery* with his troop allighting from their horſes ran into the Swampe after them, where they killed at leaſt an hundred, as was judged by ſome then preſent; taking alſo many priſoners out of thoſe habitations of darkneſs; the enemy ſcarce daring to make any reſiſtance; for none of the Engliſh, and but one or two of the *Mohegins & Pequods* were hurt in that aſſault: Yet it was affirmed by a Captain preſent on the place, that with thoſe they killed and took at *Warwick neck*, in their return home (which were not much above ſixty) that

This shot repeats the previous one, but with different lighting.

togerher, but now they were like to be ruined by the *War*. This *quarrel* proceeded to that *height*, that from that time forward, those ſeveral Indians that had for ſo long time been *combined togeſher*, reſolved now to part, and every one to *ſhift for themſelves*, and return to their *own homes*: *Philip* to *Mount-hope*, and the *Narrhaganſets* to their own Country again: the *Nipnets* and the *River Indians*, bending their courſe ſome *Weſtward*, others *North-ward* towards *Pennicook* upon *Merrimack*, intending to *ſhift for themſelves*, as well as they could for the future; all which is like to be the real and true ſtate of the Caſe with the Indians which were our Enemies: for the next News we heard of *Philip*, was that he was gotten back to *Mount-Hope*, now like to become *Mount-Miſery* unto him, and his *Vagabond Crew*, and that his *Friends* and *Allyes*, that had hitherto ſtood as *Neuters*, waiting only which way the Scale of Succeſs and Victory would turn, began now to ſue for mercy at the hands of the *Engliſh*: The *Maſſachuſets* Government having underſtood ſomething of this nature, put forth a *Declaration*, that whatſoever Indians ſhould within *fourteen dayes* next enſuing come in to the *Engliſh*, might hope for *mercy*.

Amongſt ſundry that came in, there was one named *James* the *Printer* the *Superadded Title* diſtinguiſhing him from others of that name: who being a *notorious Apoſtate*, that had learned ſo much of the *Engliſh*, as not only to read and write, but had attained likewiſe ſome skill in printing, and might have attained more, (had he not like a *falſe Villain* ran away from his *Maſter* before his time was out) he having ſeen and read the ſaid *Declaration* of the *Engliſh*, did venture himſelf upon the Faith thereof, and came to ſue for his Life; he affirmed, with others that came along with him, that more Indians had dyed ſince this *War* began of diſeaſes (ſuch as at other times they uſed not to be acquainted withal) than by the Sword of the *Engliſh*.

Not long after many of them came and offered themſelves, to the number of near *two hundred*, *Men*, *Women*, and *Children*; and many more would have done the like, but their *Conſciouſneſs* of *guilt* made them conclude, that their *Cruelties* and *barbarous Murthers* could never be forgiven by the *Engliſh*.

But what *Occurrents* happened next ſhall be declared in their order. About the end of *June* News was brought to *Boſton*, that *Philip* with a *ſmall party* of his men, lurked about *Swanzy* or *Rehoboth*, & that he might eaſily be taken; an Indian offering to bring them to the place where they might find him; whereupon *Souldiers* was *inſtantly ſent away*, *from Boſton* who ſpent ſome time in ſearching all the *woods* on *that ſide of the Country*, but

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that they killed and took of the enemy at that time above three hundred young and old. At the ſame time was taken the old Squaw of *Narrhaganſet*, commonly called the old Queen.

They were neceſſitated with this booty to return homewards to gratifie the *Mohegin & Pequod* Indians that accompanied them, who had done them very good ſervice in the purſuit, having loſt one or two of their men in the chaſe: But their return home, was, as it proved in the iſſue, more beneficial, then their longer ſtay might have been, to have made a fruitleſs purſuit after *Philip* (whoſe time was not yet come although haſtning apace) for in their return they met ſixty of the enemy, all of whom they ſlew and took, ſo as their Sword returned not empty.

Within a few dayes after, two hundred of the enemy within *Plimouth* Juriſdiction being diſtreſſed with Famine, and fear of danger, came and ſubmitted themſelves to the Goverment there: But three of the company were preſently detected of a cruel murther, and villanous aſſault upon one Mr. *Clarkes* houſe of *Plimouth*; by a well minded Squaw that was among them (hoping that poſſibly ſuch a diſcovery would be pleaſing to the Engliſh) and accordingly adjudged forthwith to undergoe condign puniſhment, which the reſt that ſurrendred themſelves were no whit troubled at, ſuch kind of Villains, being alwayes exempted from all acts of favour and mercy. Thoſe two hundred that had newly ſurrendred themſelves, that they might give ful proof of their fidelity, offered to lead a Party of the Engliſh to a place not far off, where twenty more of the enemy might be ſurprized, amongſt whom alſo was one, known to be a bloudy murtherer of an Engliſh man that year before; accordingly eight Engliſh men took fourteen of the ſaid *Indians*, and the next day brought in all the aforeſaid twenty of the enemy, with the ſaid murderer; who was preſently executed, the reſt being accepted into favour.

It is affirmed likewiſe that five or ſix Sachems of *Cape Cod*, towards the eaſtern part of it, came with three hundred *Indians* to make peace with the Engliſh, on the 6*th*. of *July*; one of the ſaid Sachems earneſtly deſiring the Engliſh that none of them might be ſuffered to ſell any ſtrong Liquors to the *Indians*, the trading of which, poſſibly hath had no ſmall influence into the preſent miſchiefs.

The next day, *July* the 7*th*. a ſmall party of ours, with a few friendly or Chriſtian *Indians* with them, killed and took ſeven of the enemy in the woods not far from *Dedham*, one of which was a *Narrhaganſet Sachem*; who either himſelf, informed, or by ſome other at that time, certain intelligence was brought to *Boſton*, that ſome of our enemy *Indians* were gotten to *Albany*, informing people there, that they might the more eaſily

eaſily get powder and amunition, that the Engliſh and they were now at peace: One of the ſaid Indians was the Sachem of *Springfield*, a bloudy and deceitfull villain; It is hoped that he is now taken in the ſnare from whence he ſhall never be ſuffered to eſcape.

Philip by this time could not but think his ruine haſtned apace; yet that he might, in imitation of him that ſtirred up all this miſchief, expreſs the more wrath, becauſe he knew his time was but ſhort, intended if poſſible, to deſtroy one town more of the Engliſh before his turn came; wherefore *July*, 11. with all the Force he could get, or that he had left he intended to ſet upon *Taunton*, having as was conceived, many hundreds in his company; but his deſign being ſtrangly diſcovered by a Negroe, whom they had taken captive a little before, that having lived near the *Indians* before, underſtood much of their Language, who making his eſcape from them, acquainted the Inhabitants with the plot; who having timely notice, furniſhed themſelves with Souldiers, whereby they were able to repulſe the enemy upon his firſt approach: ſo as he only fired two houſes, and then fled away: *Except the Lord keepeth the City the Watchman watcheth but in vain.*

The 22*d*. of this moneth of *July*, as is hinted before, the Companyes ſent from *Concord*, *May*, 30. up towards *Hadly*, having ſpent much time and paines in purſuit of *Philip* all the Country over (whom they could not yet overtake) having tired themſelves with many long and tedious Marches through the deſert woods, before they returned home ſome of them were ſent toward *Mount-Hope*, yet was their labour well improved, and followed with good ſucceſs at the laſt: for in ranging thoſe woods in *Plimouth Colony*, they killed and took, by the help of Capt. *Moſely*'s Company and Capt. *Brattles* Troop joyning with Major *Bradfords* Company of *Plimouth Colony*, an hundred and fifty Indians, with the loſs of never an Engliſh man.

It was feared that *Philip* and his Company would have returned into the *Nipnet Country*, to prevent which, ſeveral Horſemen were ſent to guard the paſſage; but he lurked about his own Country in ſwamps and other ſecret places, where he was as yet hid from the ſight of the Engliſh, although many times they hapned to lodge very near him, inſomuch as an Indian Captive promiſed in two hours time to bring our Souldiers to the very place where he was; but they not being able to paſs the neareſt way, came a little too late; for they being ſo hotly purſued, haſted away, leaving much of their treaſure behind them, their Kettles boiling over the fire, their dead unburyed, and twenty of their party were overtaken, that fell into the Engliſh hands: *Philip* himſelf,

and ſome few of his ſtragling followers, making their eſcape by a Raft over an arm of the Sea, into another neck of land on *Pocaſſet* ſide, not daring to truſt himſelf any longer in *Metapoyſet* woods, ſo full of our Engliſh Souldiers, as well thoſe of *Plimouth*, as of the *Maſſachuſets Colony*; who almoſt every day meeting with ſome of his party, much leſſened his number. Capt. *Church*, that active and unwearied Commander of *Plimouth Colony*, was at this time as well as long before, out upon the chaſe with but eighteen Engliſh, and twenty two Indians that were friends, had four ſeveral ingagements with *Philips* party, wherein he ſpoiled ſeventy ſix of the enemy, without the loſs of one of his own men. In ſeveral of theſe skirmiſhes, thoſe Indians that upon ſubmiſſion had their lives given them, have done notable ſervice in hunting out the enemy in all their lurking places.

At another time they took *Philips Squaw*, and one of his chief Councellors; and about that ſame time, another Sachem about *Pocaſſet*, with forty *Indians* ſubmitted himſelf to the Government of *Plimouth*, on promiſe of life and liberty.

It ſeemed that now the time of our deliverance was come, and the time alſo for the deſtruction of our enemyes: for the laſt week in *July*, the *Maſſachuſets* underſtanding that ſome *Indians* were ſeen roving up and down the woods about *Dedham*, almoſt ſtarved for want of victuals, ſent a ſmall Company of twenty ſix Souldiers, with about nine or ten Chriſtian Indians, who purſued and took fifty of the enemy, without any loſs to the Engliſh; at which time alſo, a good quantity of *wampampag* and powder was taken from the enemy. That which increaſed this victory was the ſlaughter of *Pomham*, who was one of the ſtouteſt and moſt valiant Sachems that belonged to the *Narkaganſets*; whoſe courage and ſtrength was ſo great, that after he had been mortally wounded in the fight, ſo as himſelf could not ſtand; yet catching hold of an *Engliſh-man* that by accident came near him, had done him a miſchief, if he had not been preſently reſcued by one of his Fellowes. Amongſt the reſt of the Captives at that time, was one of the ſaid *Pombams* ſons, a very likely youth, and one whoſe countenance would have beſpoke favour for him, had he not belonged to ſo bloudy & barbarous an *Indian* as his father was.

Theſe ſucceſſes being daily bruited abroad among the Indians, put many of them into a trembling condition, not knowing well how to diſpoſe of themſelves: ſome that had been leſs active in theſe Tragedies, and were rather led by others, then any wiſe inclined to miſchief themſelves, adventured to ſubmit themſelves, of which number was one of

Nipnet

Nipnet Sachems, called Sagamore *John*, who *July* 27. came to ſurrender himſelf to the Governour and Council of the *Maſſachuſets* at *Boſton*, bringing along with him one hundred and eighty of the Enemy Indians. This *John* that he might the more ingratiate himſelf with the Engliſh, whoſe friendſhip he was now willing to ſeek after, did by a wile get into his hands, one *Matoonas*, an old malicious Villain, who was the firſt that did any miſchief within the *Maſſachuſets Colony*, July. 14. 1675. baring an old grudge againſt them as is thought, for juſtice that was done upon one of his Sons, 1671. whoſe Head ever ſince ſtands upon a Pole near the Gibbet where he was hanged up: the bringing in of this malicious Caitife, was an hopeful preſage, that it would not be long before *Philip* himſelf, the grand Villain, would in like manner receive a juſt reward of his Wickedneſs and Murders.

Sagamore *John*, that came in *July* 27. affirmed, that he had never intended any miſchief to the Engliſh at *Brookfield* the laſt year (near which Village it ſeems his place was) but that *Philip* coming over-night amongſt them, he was forced, for fear of his own life, to joyn with them againſt the Engliſh. *Matoonas* alſo when he was brought before the Council, and asked what he had to ſay for himſelf, confeſſed that he had rightly deſerved Death, and could expect no other, adding withal, that if he had followed their Counſel, he had not come to this; for he had often ſeemed to favour the Praying Indians, and the Chriſtian Religion, but like *Simon Magus*, by his after practiſe, diſcovered quickly, that he had no part nor portion in that matter.

About this time ſeveral parties of Engliſh, within *Plimouth* Juriſdiction, were willing to have a hand in ſo good a matter, as catching of *Philip* would be, who perceiving that he was now going down the wind, were willing to haſten his fall. Amongſt others a ſmall party, *July* 31. went out of *Bridge-water* upon diſcovery, and by providence were directed to fall upon a Company of Indians where *Philip was*, they came up with them, and killed ſome of his ſpecial Friends, *Philip* himſelf was next to his Uncle, that was ſhot down, and had the Souldier that had his choice which to ſhoot at, known which had been the right Bird, he might as well have taken him as his Uncle; but tis ſaid that he had newly cut off his Hair, that he might not be known: the party that did this exploit were few in number, and therefore not being able to keep altogether cloſe in the reer, that cunning Fox eſcaped away through the Buſhes undiſcerned in the reer of the Engliſh: that which was moſt remarkable in this deſign, was that trembling fear diſcerned to be upon the Indians at this time, inſomuch that one of them having a Gun in his hand

hand well laden, yet was not able to ſhoot it off, but ſuffered an Engliſh Souldier to come cloſe up to his breaſt, and ſo ſhot him down, the other not being able to make any reſiſtance: nor was any of the Engliſh hurt at this time.

The like terror was ſeen in others at that time, for within two days after, Capt. *Church*, the terror of the Indians in *Plimouth* Colony, marching in purſuit of *Philip*, with but thirty Engliſh-men, and twenty reconciled Indians, took twenty three of the Enemy, and the next day following them by their Tracks, fell upon their Head-quarters, and killed and took about an hundred and thirty of them, but with the loſs of one Engliſh man: in this engagement God did appear in a more then ordinary manner to fight for the Engliſh, for the Indians by their number, and other advantages of the place, were ſo conveniently provided, that they might have made the firſt ſhot at the Engliſh, and done them much damage; but one of their own Country-men in Capt. *Churches Company*, eſpying them, called aloud unto them in their own Language, telling them, *that if they ſhot a Gun, they were all dead men*; with which they were ſo amazed, that they durſt not once offer to fire at the Engliſh, which made the victory the more remarkable: *Philip* made a very narrow eſcape at that time, being forced to leave his Treaſures, his beloved Wife and only Son, to the mercy of the Engliſh, *Skin for Skin, all that a man hath will he give for his life*: His ruine being thus gradually carried on, his miſery was not prevented but augmented thereby; being himſelf made acquainted with the ſence and experimental feeling of the Captivity of his Children, loſs of Friends, ſlaughter of his Subjects, bereavement of all Family Relations, and being ſtript of all outward Comforts, before his own life ſhould be taken away. Such Sentence ſometime paſſed upon *Cain*, made him cry out, *that his puniſhment was greater then he could bare.*

This bloody wretch hath one week or two more to live, an object of pitty, but a ſpectacle of divine vengeance, his own Followers beginning now to plot againſt his life, to make the better tearms for their own; as they did alſo ſeek to betray *Squaw Sachem* of *Pocaſſet*, *Philips* neat Kins-woman and Confederate. For,

Auguſt 6. An Indian willing to ſhift for himſelf fled to *Taunton*, offering to lead any of the Engliſh that would follow him, to a party of Indians, which they might eaſily apprehend, which twenty attempted, and accordingly ſeized the whole Company, to the number of twenty ſix all but that Squaw Sachem her ſelf, who intending to make an eſcape from the danger, attempted to get over a River, or arm of the Sea near by,

by, upon a Raft or ſome pieces of broken wood; but whether tired and ſpent with ſwimming, or ſtarved with cold and hunger, ſhe was found ſtark naked in *Metapoiſet*, not far from the water-ſide, which made ſome think, that ſhe was firſt half drowned, and ſo ended her wretched life, juſt in that place where the year before ſhe had helped *Philip* to make his eſcape: her head being cut off and ſet upon a Pole in *Taunton*, was known by ſome Indians then Priſoners, which ſet them into an horrid Lamentation; but ſuch was the righteous hand of God, in bringing at the laſt that miſchief upon themſelves, which they had without cauſe thus long acted againſt others.

Philip, like a Salvage and wild Beaſt, having been hunted by the Engliſh Forces through the Woods, above an hundred miles backward and forward, at laſt was driven to his own Den, upon *Mount-hope*, where retiring himſelf, with a few of his beſt Friends into a Swamp, which proved but a Priſon to keep him faſt, till the Meſſengers of death, came by Divine permiſſion to execute vengeance upon him, which was thus accompliſhed.

Such had been his inveterate malice and wickedneſs againſt the engliſh that deſpairing of mercy from them, he could not bear that any thing ſhould be ſuggeſted to him about a Peace, inſomuch as he cauſed one of his Confederates to be killed, for propounding an expedient of peace; which ſo provoked ſome of his Company, not altogether ſo deſperate as himſelf, that one of them (being near of kin to him that was killed) fled to Road-Iſland, whither, that active Champion Capt. *Church* was newly retired, to recruit his men for a little time, being much tired with hard marches all that week) informing them that *Philip* was fled to a Swamp in *Mount-hope*, whether he would undertake to lead them that would purſue him. This was welcome news, and the beſt Cordial, for ſuch Martial Spirits: whereupon he immediately, with a ſmall Company of men, part Engliſh and part Indians, began another March, which ſhall prove fatal to *Philip*, and end that controverſie betwixt the engliſh and him: for coming very early to the ſide of the Swamp, his Souldiers began preſently to ſurround it, and whether the Devil appeared to him in a Dream that night, as he did unto *Saul*, foreboding his Tragical end (it matters not) as he intended to make his eſcape out of the Swamp, he was ſhot through the Heart by an Indian of his own Nation as is ſaid, that had all this while kept himſelf in a neutrality until this time, but now had the caſting vote in his power, by which he determined the quarrel that had held ſo long in ſuſpence; in him is fulfilled what was ſaid in the Prophet, *Wo to thee that ſpoileſt, and thou waſt not ſpoiled, and dealeſt treacherouſly*

treacherouſly and they dealt not treacherouſly with thee; when thou ſhalt ceaſt to ſpoil thou ſhalt be ſpoiled, and when thou ſhalt make an end to deal treacherouſly, they ſhall deal treacherouſly with thee, Iſai. 33. 1.

With *Philip* at this time fell five of his trulieſt Followers, of whom one was ſaid to be the Son of his chief Captain, that had ſhot the firſt Gun at the Engliſh the year before. This was done *Auguſt* 12. 1676. a remarkable teſtimony of divine favour to the Colony of *Plimouth*, who had for their former ſucceſſes, appointed the 17*th* day of *Auguſt* following, to be kept as a day of ſolemn Thanksgiving to Almighty God. There having been ſo ſtrange a turn of providence obſerved in the late ſucceſſes obtained in and about *Plimouth* Colony, it may not be amiſs here to enquire into the occaſions that did lead thereunto, and alſo into the progreſs and continuance thereof, after the ſlaughter of *Philip* that grand Rebel.

In the precedent Narration frequent mention hath been made of one Capt. *Church*, whom God hath made an inſtrument of ſignal Victories over the Indians in that Colony, and of great advantage in that reſpect to that whole Juriſdiction. It hapened that the ſaid Capt. *Church* ſome time in *June* laſt, *viz.* of this preſent year, 1676. paſſing over in a Canoo from *Pocaſſet* to *Rood-Iſland*, as he uſed frequently to do (having had much imployment upon the ſaid Neck of Land, ſo called) ſeveral Indians whom he had known before at *Lakenham* (a Village on *Pocaſſet ſide*) beckned to him, as if they had a mind to ſpeak with him; he having had ſo much experience as well as others of their Treachery, was not willing to adventure preſently to come near them; but when they ſeemed to urge very much, and made many ſigns to him, and at laſt laid down their Guns in his ſight, he began to think with himſelf, there might be ſomething in the matter more then ordinary, therefore reſolved to go a little nearer to the ſhore, and then he perceived they had a great minde to ſpeak with him, uſing much importunity for that end, inſomuch as he ventured to go a ſhore amongſt them, having but one Engliſh-man, and two Indians with him, he directed them to keep off the Canoo, while he diſcourſed with the Indians aſhore: as ſoon as ever he came amongſt them; they told him they were weary of fighting, and that they had fought ſo long by *Philips* inſtigation, but they could not tell for what end, and therefore were reſolved they would fight no longer; and that which they deſired of him only was, that he would make way for them to the Governour, that they might live quietly amongſt the Engliſh, as they had done before, and that they would deliver up their Arms, or would go out with them, if he pleaſed to accept of them, and fight for him;

to that end they desired a time to parly with him, further about that business, at what time and place he would appoint: He told them he would meet them two dayes after at *Saconet*, a place up higher upon the said neck, about twelve a clock; accordingly he came to the said place, and found the same Indians, with some others, and their *Sunke Squaw*, or chief woman of that Indian Plantation, there ready to meet him.

After they had fallen into discourse about the beginning of the warr, as well as the success and mischief of it, they would have put the blame off from themselves, and laid it upon the English: But he presently convinced them by an undeniable evidence, that they first began the warr; For said he upon this *Pocasset*, *July*, 7. 1675. you first fought with some of *Road-Island*, whereof one was my own Servant, whose leg you broke, and the same day you shot at my self and Company, before ever we medled with you: They were so fully convinced herewith, that they found nothing to reply, but fell into other discourse about a peace, which they seemed very desirous to obtain upon any equal tearms, as was said before.

There were about fifteen of the Indians present, beside their *Sunke Squaw* (which is with us their Governess or Lady) in conclusion they engaged for ever after to leave *Philip*, and to goe out with him; which they did forthwith, as soon as he had obtained a peace for them with the Governour.

It is here to be minded, that these were not properly *Philips Indians*, but belonged to the *Sakonet Squaw*, who was nearly related to *Philip*, and her Subjects had hitherto fought in *Philips* Quarrell, till they saw nothing but misery and mischief like to be the issue of it to themselves, as well as their neighbours. About twenty or thirty of these *Sakonet Indians* have constantly gone out with Capt. *Church* ever since, and not only been faithfull and serviceable to him, but very successfull in every enterprise they have gone about, nor hath he lost any of them in any skirmish with the other Indians: And it is said that this act of these Indians broke *Philips* heart, as soon as ever he understood it, so as he never joyed after, or had any success in any of his designs, but lost his men one time after another, till himself at last fell into the hands of these Indians under Capt. *Churches* Command: For at the swamp when *Philip* was slain, Capt. *Church* appointed an English man and an Indian to stand at such a place of the swampe, where it hapned that *Philip* was breaking away; the morning being wet and rainy, the English mans gun would not fire, the Indian having an old Musket with a large touch-hole,

it took fire the more readily, with which *Philip* was diſpatched, the bullet paſſing directly through his heart, where *Joab* thruſt his darts into rebellious *Abſalom*.

Thus did divine vengeance retalliate upon this notorious Traitor, that had againſt his league and Covenant, riſen up againſt the Government of *Plimouth*, to raiſe up againſt him one of his own people, or one that was in league with him, as he was with the Engliſh: The Indian that did this execution was called *Alderman* of *Sakonet* that had never done any act of hoſtility againſt the Engliſh.

By theſe paſſages it is manifeſt, that as *the hearts of all are in the hand of God, ſo he turns them as he pleaſes*, either to favour his people, or to hate and deal ſubtilly with his Servants, as ſeems good to him.

Since this engagement with the *Sakonet Indians*, to leave *Philip*, and to goe out with Capt. *Church*, it is credibly affirmed, that ſuch hath been their ſucceſs, that ſince *June* aforeſaid, to the end of *October* next following, there have been ſeven hundred Indians ſubdued, either by killing or taking Captive, by the meanes of Capt. *Church* and his Company, part Indians and part Engliſh, beſides three hundred that have come in voluntarily to ſubmit themſelves to the Government of *Plimouth*.

It appears thus by the ſequell of things, that after the Lord hath accompliſhed his work upon his people, that he is beginning to call his enemyes to an account, and puniſh them for the pride of their hearts, and for all their treachery and cruelty againſt his Servants.

Philips Captains have run the ſame faſe with himſelf, ſome before and ſome after his own Fall.

In *June* laſt one *Tiaſhq* a great Captain of his, his wife and child, or children being taken, though he eſcaped himſelf at firſt, yet came ſince and ſurrendred himſelf.

The next noted Captain of *Philips Indians* that was brought in after *Philips* death, was one called *Teſpiquin*, a notorious Villain, next to *Philip*, he was called the black Sachems ſon: It was this *Teſpiquin* that burnt ſo many houſes in *Plimouth* lately. Capt. *Church* with his Company were in purſuit of him in *September* laſt, two dayes before they could get near him, at the laſt on the third day, they found the track made by the ſaid *Teſpiquins* party, as they went to fetch apples from the Engliſh Orchards; This was ſomething a blind track, therefore they were forced to take up their quarters that night without diſcovering any place of their Rendezvouze. The next morning about nine of the clock, they came to their firſt Rendezvouze, from which they were newly gone: at one a clock they came to the ſecond, and miſſing them

them there, they ſoon after c[illegible]ne third track, wherein after they had marched awhile, they perceived they grew very near them, by the crying of a child which they heard: the place was near *Lakenham* upon *Pocaſſet* neck, ſo full of buſhes that a man could not ſee a rod before him: Capt. *Church* ordered his men to march up together in one ranke, becauſe he diſcovered the Indians were laid in one Range by ſeveral fires; ſo that by that time they all came up into an even ranke pretty near together, within a few yards of them, as he had appointed, they all ſuddenly ruſhed altogether in upon them, and catched hold of them, not ſuffering any to eſcape; there being about fifty of them in all: *Teſpiquins* wife and children were there, but himſelf was abſent; as alſo one *Jacob*, and a girle that belonged to that company. The Captains leiſure would not ſerve him to wait till they came in, (though the Indians ſaid they might come that night) wherefore he thought upon this project, to leave two old *Squaws* upon the place, with victuals, and bid them tell *Teſpiquin*, that he ſhould be his Captain over his Indians if he were found ſo ſtout a man, as they reported him to be, for the Indians had ſaid that *Teſpiquin* could not be pierced by a bullet, for ſaid they, he was ſhot twice, but the bullets glanced by him and could not hurt him. Thus the Captain matched away with his booty, leaving this Trap behind him to take the reſt; the next morning he came to ſee what his Trap had catch'd, there he found *Jacob* aforeſaid (a notorious wretch) and the girle he miſſed before, but not *Teſpiquin*: But within a day or two after, the ſaid *Teſpiquin*, upon the hopes of being made a Captain under Capt. *Church*, came after ſome of the Company, and ſubmitted himſelf in the Captains abſence; and was ſent to *Plimouth*, but upon trial (which was the condition on which his being promiſed a Captains place under Capt. *Church* did depend) he was found penetrable by the Engliſh gunns, for he fell down at the firſt ſhot, and thereby received the juſt reward of his former wickedneſs.

About a Fortnight after the ſurpriſing of *Teſpiquin*, was one *Totoſons* company taken, wherein were above fifty perſons: but *Totoſon* himſelf eſcaped, and is out ſtill in Rebellion, unleſs vengeance hath overtaken him ſince.

The next that was ſeized after the former, was one called *Annawan*; a very ſubtle, politick Fellow, and one of *Philips* chief Counſellors; he had about twelve men, and as many Women and Children in his Company, who were diſcovered by their ſhooting at the Engliſh Horſes, and other Cattle; ſome of whom being taken, they made known the reſt. Capt. *Church* at that time had but five Engliſh men, and twenty Indians,

The place where this *Annawan* had betaken himſelf, was a ledge of Rocks inacceſſible, but at one place, which by a few hands, might eaſily have been defended againſt a great number of Aſſailants: but Capt. *Church* by direction got up to their Wigwams before they were aware: and pleaſantly told *Annawan*, that he came to ſup with him that night; whereat the ſaid *Annawan* (who had fallen flat upon the Earth, expecting to have his head cut off) looked up and cried *Tanbut*, in their Language, *thank you*, as one being much affected with the generoſity of our Engliſh Captain; they found ſome of the Engliſh Beef boyling in their Kettles: After Supper much diſcourſe had with the ſaid *Annawan*, they lay down to ſleep together in the Wigwam: Capt. *Church* laying one of his legs upon *Anawans* Son, and the other upon himſelf, that he might have notice, if any of them offered to ſtir: after midnight *Annawan* roſe up, and Capt. *Church* was preſently awake, and intended to watch after his Priſoner: he thought at the firſt he might have gone forth upon ſome neceſſary occaſion; but not long after, he returned again, having fetched out of a Swamp hard by, two Horns of Powder and a large Belt of Peag, ſuppoſed to be *Philips* Belt, all which he delivered to Capt. *Church*, in way of thankful acknowledgement of his courteſie. Amongſt other Diſcourſe that paſſed between them, concerning the occaſion of the War, and carrying of it on: the Indian would fain have excuſed *Philip*, and layd the blame upon the Praying Indians (as they are diſtinguiſhed from others by that Character) and others of the younger ſort of his Followers, who coming with their ſeveral tales (which he likened to ſticks laid on a heap) till by the multitude of them a great fire came to be kindled: they make much uſe of parabolical expreſſions; for ſo ſaid *Solomon*, *Where no wood is, there the fire goeth out; ſo where there is no tale-bearer, the ſtrife ceaſeth*, Prov. 26. 20. But *Philip* had had large and long experience of the gentleneſs and kindneſs of the Engliſh, both to himſelf and to his People, ſo as unleſs he had born an evil and malicious mind againſt the Engliſh, he would never have hearkened to thoſe ſtories, contrary to his faithful promiſe and Allegiance.

The ſaid *Annawan* confeſſed alſo, that he did believe by all thoſe late occurrents, that there was a great God, that over-ruled all; and that he had found, that whatever he had done to any of thoſe, whether Indians or Engliſh, the ſame was brought upon himſelf in after time. He confeſſed alſo, that he had put to death ſeveral of the Engliſh, that they had taken alive, ten in one day: and could not deny, but that ſome of them had been tortured: and now he could not but ſee the juſtice of the great God upon himſelf, with many other things of like nature.

But

But whatever his confessions of this nature were, being forced from him by the power of Conscience, after he was delivered up to Authority, he was put to death, as he justly had deserved.

It is said that *Philip* when he first began his Rebellion, had about three hundred fighting men under him, besides those that belonged to his Kins-woman, *Wetamoe*, drowned about *Taunton*, that had almost as many under her, as himself. And one *Quenopin*, a *Narrhaganset* Sachem, that lived near him, and joyned with him in his quarrel with the English: But it is certain that there are scarce any that are now left that belonged to either of them: so as although the Almighty hath made use of them to be a scourge to his People, he hath now turned his hand against them, to their utter destruction, and extirpation from off the face of the earth, peradventure to make room for others of his People to come in their room, and in their stead.

As for the rest of the *Narrhaganscts*, that joyned in *Philips* quarrel, it is already declared, what end they were come unto. As for the rest of the Indians, whither *Nipnet*, *Nashaway*, *Pacomptuck*, or *Hadly* and *Springfield* Indians; it is not so certain what is become of them: But after their separation one from the other about *July last*; it was observed by all the Tracks in those Woods, they went still westward, and about the middle of *August* last, a great party of them were observed to pass by *Westfield*, a small Town to the west of *Springfield*, and were judged to be about two hundred: News thereof being brought to Major *Talcot*, he with the Souldiers of *Connecticut Colony* under his command, both English and Indians, pursued after them as far as *Ausonunnoog* River (in the middle way betwixt *Westfield*, and the *Dutch River*, and *Fort Albany*) where he overtook them, and fought with them; killing and taking Prisoners forty five, whereof twenty five were fighting men, without the loss of any one of his Company besides a *Mohegin* Indian: many of the rest were sorely wounded, as appeared by the dabbling of the Bushes with blood, as was observed by them that followed them a little further.

It is written since from *Albany*, that there were sundry lost besides the forty five forementioned, to the number of threescore in all; and also that an hundred and twenty of them are since dead of sickness: so as Vengeance seems to be pursuing of them as well as the rest.

Several of their Friends that belonged to *Nashaway*, and the places adjoyning, repaired to *Pascataqua*, hoping to shrowd themselves under the Wings of some honester Indians about *Quechecho*, under pretence

of a Declaration set out by the Governour and Counsel of the *Massachusets* in the beginning of *July* last: but some of our Forces, under Capt. *Hathorne* and Capt. *Sill*, with the help of Major *Walden*, Captain *Frost*, and others residing in those parts, being then in a readiness, separated the vile, and wicked from the rest, and sent them down to the Governour at *Boston*, where eight or nine of the Ring-leaders, such as one eyed *John*, Sagamore *Sam* of *Nashaway*, chief Actors of the late outrages, and bloudy mischiefs had justice done upon them soon after.

As for the Massacres and Calamities that befel the English further Eastward, they shall in the second part of this Narrative be declared.

The Indians being thus dispersed several wayes, were strangly confounded, and destroyed one parcel after another, untill there was none left in the western or southern parts, that durst make any opposition all the following part of the year.

As for those that fled westward toward *Albany*, we shall there leave them for the present, wishing we may never hear more of them: Only a person of Quality informeth, that at *Hartford*, in *September* last, he was present at the examination of one *Choos*, an *Indian*, formerly of *Connecticut*, but one of the *Narrhaganset Fort* the last winter, who confessed that he was one of that Company of Indians that went westward the moneth before toward *Hudsons River*; but after the fight at *Ausotunnoog*, he said he returned back to *Connecticut* for fear of the *Mohawks*; and that he lay hid about *Farmington*, till he was almost starved; and then he went to the Sea-side, to make use of the Oister-bank at *Stratford* for his relief, where he was espyed by the Indians, and so brought to *Hartford*.

He affirmed, that there were above two hundred and fifty fighting men amongst those *Indians* that fled westward, besides women and children, and that near two hundred of them passed the great River below *Albany*, and were sheltered by the Indians of that place, called *Mohigunders*, but about eighty of them tarried on the hither side of that *River* near a *Dutch* village. But he being convicted of fighting against the *English*, was condemned to dye, and executed about the same time.

Some few of the rest were skulking about the *Narrhaganset Country* the last Fall, hoping to shelter themselves under *Uncas*, but he not willing to give them countenance against the mind of his friends at *Connecticut*, hath since abandoned them to shift for themselves, who have been most of them taken and brought in prisoners to the English this winter.

About the Moneth of *October* last, Mr. *Stanton* chanced to come from *Sinconke* with three *Indians* in his company *Pequods*, or *Mohegins*, they hearing

hearing by a Captive at one of the next towns that there was a parcel of the enemy not far off, preſently left Mr. *Stanton*, and purſued after them, whom they ſoon after overtook, and made them all priſoners: amongſt them was an old man, not able to goe their pace, but promiſing to come after them, they ſpared his life: but as ſoon as the men returned at night from hunting, the old man told them what had befalne their women and children; whereupon the next morning they preſently following after them, overtook them, and ſo recovered the priſoners, and ſlew one of the three that carried them away; the other two hardly eſcaped; one of them is called Major *Symon*, being part a *Pequod* and part a *Narrhaganſet*, but of extraordinary ſtrength and courage; he perceiving the danger they were in, challenged to fight hand to hand with any five of them with their hatchets; but they unwilling to hang their ſucceſs upon the hazzard of a ſingle Combate, came all towards him at once, whereupon firſt diſcharging his gun amongſt the whole Company, he brake through them all by force, and ſo eſcaped their hands, with one more that was one of his companions. This *Symon* hath ſince been very active in killing and taking many of the enemy; ſome ſay that he with his own hands hath taken and killed above threeſcore; and either out of hatred to the enemy, or love to the Engliſh, is this laſt week gone with the Souldiers to the eaſtward, in purſuit of our quarrel againſt them in thoſe parts.

At another time not long before, when he was out againſt the enemy, he came ſuddenly upon a great number of them, as they were ſpread under a ſteep banke, from whence leaping down into the mideſt of them he killed diverſe, and took others: fighting it ſeems is a recreation to him, for he is ſeldome at home above four or five dayes together.

Some ſay that in one of his former expeditions, being much wearied and ſpent, he laid him down to ſleep, but towards morning he fell into a dream, wherein he apprehended the Indians were upon him, where ſuddenly riſing up he eſpyed the Indians coming toward him, but preſently preſenting his gunns againſt them, he ſo frighted them, that they gave him an opportunity to make an eſcape from a multitude of them.

Since the beginning of *December* laſt, News coming down to *Boſton*, that miſchief was done about *Seaconk*, and *Rehoboth*, by ſome remainder of the Indians thereabout, killing their ſwine and horſes; ſeveral of *Medfield* went out after them, and purſuing them by their track, came upon a ſmall party, of whom they took three, one of which eſcaped, while ſome of the company were going after the reſt: They which were taken confeſſed there were a parcell about threeſcore, that were lurking

up

up and down in thoſe Woods, the ſaid two Indians were brought into *Boſton*, Jan. 8.

A Commiſſion was formerly granted to *Peter Ephraim* an Indian of *Natick*, to go out in purſuit of them, with twenty nine of his Company; a few of the Engliſh went with them from *Medfield*, who being tired with marching in the Snow ſoon returned. The Indians kept on in their deſign, and lighted upon a conſiderable party of the Enemy, having traced them, till they found where they lodged over night; they ſurrounded them early in the morning, as their manner is, and then offered them quarter, if they would yield: eight reſolute fellows refuſed, who were preſently ſhot down, the reſt were all ſeized, the whole being in number forty two. This was done about the middle of *January* laſt, ſince which time, ſeveral ſuch exploits have been done by them.

Jan. 23. laſt, The ſame Company of *Natick Indians* took two and twenty of the Enemy, among which were five able men, and five Arms: they ſent the Priſoners home by five of their Company, the reſt went further in the chaſe.

Jan. 26. laſt, Another parcel of the Enemy were brought in, eight in number, of whom five were men; amongſt whom was the Indian called *Cornelius*: who three years ſince was indicted for killing an Engliſhmans Cow; upon which he is ſaid to have uttered ſeveral threatning ſpeeches, that he would kill Engliſh men, and their Cows too; which was now remembred againſt him, when he was in particular called to account, for having an hand in killing ſome of the Engliſh and Indians alſo in league with us, for which he was ſentenced to dy, and was accordingly executed on *Febr.* 15. laſt.

Concerning the reſt of the Indians, either in the Colony of *Plimouth*, *Connecticut*, or the *Maſſachuſets*; there is no occurrent more of moment come to light, ſince the end of *Auguſt* laſt, ſave what is laſt mentioned before; yet is it very remarkable that although tearms of peace were offered to all that would come in and ſurrender themſelves (as appears by a Declaration put out *July* laſt) and that a *Nipnet* Sachem called *John*, did thereupon with a conſiderable number of his Company come in, and offer themſelves, and were accordingly ſecured of their lives, and other concernments; yet did that treacherous Varlet make an eſcape away, this winter from Capt. *Prentices* Houſe (under whoſe charge he was put, about *Cambridge* Village) and with above twenty more fled away into the Woods, to ſhift for himſelf, amongſt the reſt of his bloody Companions; they were preſently purſued, but had gone too

too fast and too far to be overtaken: whither it were conſciouſneſs of their own guilt, that having had an hand in the blood of the Engliſh, they feared vengeance hung over their heads: or whither they liked not the Engliſh manners ſo well, as to be confined thereunto: wild creatures ordinarily love the liberty of the woods, better than the reſtraint of a cage. They made none acquainted with their deſigne before they went away, and as yet little account can be given of them: only it is known that one or two of their number have ſince been killed, and that one or two of their Families are entertained by *Uncas*, but what is become of the reſt is yet uncertain: There were but ſeven of the Company men, ſo as they are not capable to do much miſchief. Some of late have travailed through the woods to *Connecticut*, but met with no Indians, nor did they hear of any in their paſſing between that place and this.

And becauſe in the preſent *Narrative*, there hath been frequent mention made of *Uncas* the *Mohegin Sachem*, and of his faithfulneſs to the intereſt of the Engliſh, I adde in this place, that it is ſuſpected by them that knew him beſt, that in his heart he is no better affected to the Engliſh, or their Religion, then the reſt of his Country-men, and that it hath been his own advantage, that hath led him to be thus true to them who have upheld him, as formerly againſt the *Pequods*, ſo of late againſt the *Narrhaganſets*: yet hath he not long ſince been convinced of the truth of our Religion, and vanity of his own, as himſelf hath ſolemnly confeſſed, which will evidently appear by this following paſſage, which I ſhall here repreſent juſt as it was, from under the hand of that Reverend perſon it relates unto, *viz.* Mr. *Fitch*, Paſtor of the Church at *Norwich*, near unto which *Uncas* his place is.

There was a great drought the laſt Summer, but as it ſeems, it was more extream in thoſe parts then with us about the *Maſſachuſets*, and although probably, the Engliſh might have prayed for rain themſelves without any motion from the Indians, yet their addreſs to the ſaid Mr. *Fitch* on ſuch an account, with the conſequences thereof, is very remarkable, which take in his own words,

'Concerning the Drought *&c.* the true Narrative of that *Providence* is this,

'In *Auguſt* laſt, ſuch was the want of rain, that the Indian corn was 'not only dryed and parched up, but the apple-trees withered, the fruit 'and leaves fell off as in Autumn, and ſome trees ſeemed to be dead with 'that Drought: the Indians came into town and did lament their want 'of rain, and that their *Powawes* could get none in their way of worſhip

deſiring'

'deſiring me that I would ſeek to God for rain: I appointed a Faſt day
'for that purpoſe. The day being come, it proved a cleer day without
'any clouds, untill nigh ſun ſetting, when we came from the Meeting,
'and then ſome Clouds aroſe, the next day remained cloudy, then *Uncas*
'with many Indians came to my houſe, *Uncas* lamented there was ſuch
'want of Rain, I asked whether if God ſhould ſend us rain, he would
'not attribute it to their *Powwows*: He anſwered no, for they had done
'their uttermoſt and all in vain: I replyed, if you will declare it before
'all theſe Indians, you ſhall ſee what God will doe for us; For although
'this year he hath ſhewn his anger againſt the Engliſh, and not only a-
'gainſt the Indians, yet he hath begun to ſave us, and I have found by
'experience twice in the like caſe, when we ſought him by Faſting and
'Prayer, he hath given us Rain, and never denyed us. Then *Uncas*
'made a great ſpeech to the Indians (which were many) confeſſing that
'if God ſhould then ſend rain it could not be aſcribed to their powaw-
'ing, but muſt be acknowledged to be an anſwer of our prayers. This
'day the clouds ſpread more and more, and the next day there was ſuch
'plenty of rain, that our River roſe more then two foot in height.

By all that is recorded in the *Narrative* foregoing, there are none into whoſe hands it ſhall come, but will be ſenſible that the preſent time hath been a day of great rebuke & trouble to the poor people ſojourning in this wilderneſs, upon whom ſundry calamities have broke in at once this laſt as well as in the former years; in many places they have been viſited with ſickneſs, and mortality more then in many years before, depriving them of many worthy and uſefull perſons; amongſt others the loſs of Mr. *John Winthrope* the late worthy Governour of the Colony of *Connecticut*, is as in ought, much lamented by all, who dyed at *Boſton*, *April* 5. 1676. in the 73. year of his age, whither he was occaſionally called the laſt winter to ſit with the reſt of the Commiſſioners, of the united Colonyes, to conſult about the great affairs of them, now newly engaged in theſe troubles from the Heathen. He was the eldeſt ſon of the famous Governour of the *Maſſachuſets*, deceaſed, *March*, 26, 1649. *Proles ſimilima Parenti.* The memory of the Father, though he dyed ſo long ago yet lives ſtill in the minds of the ſurviving Generation, and is like to continue much longer, by the remembrance of the eminent virtues found in this the eldeſt of his off-ſpring, who being not long after, or about that time called to take up his reſidence in that Colony, was by the importunity of the people there, prevailed with to accept of the Governours place, which for a long time after, he held over that Colony

though

though annually choſen thereunto, being ſo well furniſhed with many excellent endowments, as well moral as political and philoſophical, which rendred him moſt fit to be an healer of that people. Though we are dealing in another ſubject, yet ſhall not paſs by his Tomb, as we goe along, without paying the homage due to the memory of ſo honourable a Gentleman.

After all the forementioned Calamityes and troubles, it pleaſed God to alarme the town of *Boſton*, and in them the whole Country, by a ſad Fire, accidentally kindled by the careleſneſs of an Apprentice, that ſate up too late overnight, as was conceived; which began an hour before day, continuing three or four, in which time it burned down to the ground forty ſix dwelling houſes, beſides other Buildings, together with a Meeting-houſe of conſiderable bigneſs: ſome mercy was obſerved mixt with the judgment, for if a great rain had not continued all the time (the roofs and walls of their ordinary buildings conſiſting of ſuch combuſtible matter) that whole end of the town had at that time been conſumed.

Whereby we ſee that God by his providence can turn our dwellings into aſhes, without the help of either forreign or domeſtick enemies. Which conſideration may awaken all from ſecurity, and confidence in theſe uncertain and unſtable poſſeſſions, that have no firmer Foundation, that may ſo ſoon after their firſt erection, be eaten up by the flames of fire, before the iron teeth of time have had leiſure to devour and feed upon them.

God grant that by the Fire *of all theſe Judgments, we may be purged from our Droſs, and become a more refined people, as Veſſels fitted for our Maſters uſe.*

A SUPPLEMENT
Concerning the WARRE with the PEQUODS

Reader,

I Could willingly have now expected that my Indenture being cancelled, I might have had a discharge from any further labour of this nature; but least I be found to have falsified my word passed in the Title of the Narrative, *according to the* Civilians *Rule*, Nihil dicitur factum quamdiu aliquid supereſt ad agendum; *as also that other*, Non abſolutus eſt debitor qui multa reddit, ſed qui omnia; *being ſome intimation hath already been made of great trouble with the* Pequod Indians, *at the firſt ſetling of the Plantations upon* Connecticut River, *that I may make even, though not over meaſure, I ſhall in the laſt place give this following account thereof, either left under the hands of ſuch as commanded in chief in that action, or from the mouthes of ſome faithful Witneſſes, that were not only then preſent, but perſonally concerned and engaged in that Service.*

THere was a Nation of the Indians in the Southern parts of *New-England*, called *Pequods*, ſeated on a fair Navigable River, twelve miles to the Eaſtward of the mouth of the great and famous River of *Connecticot*; who (as was commonly reported about the time when *New-England* was firſt planted by the Engliſh) being a more fierce, cruel, and warlike People then the reſt of the Indians; came down out of the more inland parts of the Continent, and by force ſeized upon one of the goodlieſt places near the Sea, and became a terrour to all their

Neighbours, on whom they had exercised several acts of inhumane cruelty; insomuch that being fleshed with Victories over their Fellow-Indians; they began to thirst after the blood of any Forreigners, *English* and *Dutch* that accidentally came amongst them, in a way of Trade, or upon other Accounts.

In the year 1634. they treacherously and cruelly murthered Captain *Stone*, and Captain *Norton*, who came occasionally with a Bark into the River to Trade with them. Not long after, within the compass of the next year, they in like treacherous manner, slew one Mr. *Oldham* (formerly belonging to *New-Plimouth*, but at that time an Inhabitant of the *Massachusets*) at *Block Island* a place not far from the mouth of their Harbour, as he was fairly Trading with them: besides some other such like acts of perfideous cruelty towards some of the *Dutch*, that had formerly been trading up *Connecticut River*: by which practises perceiving that they began to stink in the nosthrils of their Neighbours, whose revenge they now began to fear, and not willing to have to deal with too many Enemies at once, they imitated the subtlety of the Children of *Ammon*, when they began to stink before *David*; endeavouring to strengthen themselves with allyance of some of those they had formerly provoked, that by their assistance they might defend themselves against the rest, not doubting but to make their part good with their forreign Enemies, if they could be reconciled to their Indian Neighbours, the *Navrhaganses*, or other home-bred Enemies, if they could but fortifie themselves by a League of Friendship with any of their forreign Neighbours that were newly come to plant in these parts. To this end they sent Messengers with gifts to the *Massachusets* in the latter end of the same year 1634. the first Messengers were dismissed without an answer; but they being sensible of their own danger, and of the great importance a peace with the English of the *Massachusets* might be, pursued the business very earnestly, sending Messengers a second time, who offered much *Wampam* (Indians Money) and Beaver, with these second Messengers: the Governour and Council of the *Massachusets* had much conference many dayes; and at last after the best advice they could take amongst themselves, concluded a Peace and Friendship with them, upon these Conditions.

1. That they should deliver up to the English those persons amongst them that were guilty of Captain *Stones* Death, and the rest that were with him.

2. That if the English desired to Plant in *Connecticut* they should give up their right to them.

3. That

5. That the English should thence forward Trade with them as their Friends, which was a chief thing aimed at, the said *Pequods* being at that time in War with the *Dutch*, and the rest of their Neighbours, on the Reasons forementioned, to these conditions they readily agreed, and also cunningly insinuated their desire that their new Confederates, the *Massachusets* should mediate a peace for them with the *Narrhaganssets*; intimating likewise their willingness that a part of the Present which they promised to send should be given to them, standing so much upon their honour, that they would not be seen to give any thing themselves; such was the pride and height of Spirit lodged in this company of Treacherous Villains, the Dregs and Lees of the Earth, and Drosse of Mankinde.

As for Capt. *Stone's* death they slily evaded the guilt of it, falsly adding that there were but two left that had any hand therein, and that it was a just quarrel wherein he was slain: for, said they, he surprised some of our men, and would by force have compelled them to shew him the way up the River, whereupon the said *Stone* coming ashore, with two more, was watched by nine of our men (say they) who finding them asleep in the night, slew them to deliver our own men, one of whom going afterward to the Barque, it was suddenly blown up, whereas the truth of the matter was thus,

The said Capt. *Stone* formerly belonging to *Christophers* in the *West-Indies*, occasionally coming to these parts, as he passed between this place and *Virginia* put in at that River, where the Indians after they had been often on board his Vessell to trade with him, at the last came friendly on board as they used to doe, but finding the Captain asleep in his Cabbin, took the opportunity to murther him as he lay, casting a Covering over him that he might not be discerned by the rest whom they presently after dispatched one after another, all but Capt. *Norton*, who made stout resistance, for a long time defending himself in the Cook-room of the Barke, till the gun-powder which he had set in an open vessell, to be more ready for his use, accidentally took fire, by which fatal accident he was so burned & his eyes so blinded that he could not make any longer resistance, but forthwith fell into the hands of these cruel and bloud-thirsty wretches, who after they had taken away his life made a prey of all that was in the Vessell.

As for Mr. *Oldman* he was indeed murthered at an Island called by the Indians *Manisses* (since known among the English by the name of *Block-Island*) but those that murthered him (probably Inhabitants of the said Island) fled presently to the *Pequods*, by whom they were sheltered, and so

ſo became alſo guilty themſelves of his bloud, which ere long was revenged by them, as is in the next place to be declared.

The Engliſh of the *Maſſachuſets* after the peace concluded with the *Pequods*, ſent a Barke thither for trade, that trial might be made of the reality of their friendſhip, but they found them treacherous and falſe, and that no advantage was to be had by any commerce with them, inſomuch as they took up a reſolution never more to have to doe with them; which the ſaid Indians perceiving, made no account of the former peace, but took all advantage to do us miſchief, not only by harbouring thoſe who had murthered Mr. *Oldham*, but ſurprizing many of the Engliſh in the year 1636. when *Connecticut River* began firſt to be planted, divers of whom were killed (nine at one time in *April* 1637.) by them about *wethersfield*, when the Plantation then firſt began, ſo as they could not paſs up and down the River without a Guard, but they would be in danger of being cut off or carried away, as two Maids were ſaid to be; thirty men have been killed by them in all; thoſe who fell into their hands alive, were cruelly tortured after a moſt barbarous manner, by inſulting over their Priſoners in a blaſphemous wiſe, when in their dying Agonies, under the extremity of their pains (their fleſh being firſt ſlaſhed with knives, and then filled with burning Embers; they called upon God and Chriſt with gaſping groans, reſigning up their Souls into their hands; with which words theſe wretched Captifs uſed to mock the Engliſh afterward, when they came within their hearing and view.

About the ſame time ſome Agents ſent over by the Lord *Say*, and the Lord *Brook*, built a Fort at the mouth of *Connecticut River*, wherein was placed one Lieutenant *Gardiner*, and a convenient number of Souldiers to ſecure the place, intended ſoon after to be planted, but all the winter following (*ſcil.*) in the end of the year 1636. they were little better then beſieged by the ſaid Salvages, not daring to ſtir out of command of the Fort, but they were ready to be ſeized by theſe their barbarous Enemies: At one time the Lieutenant himſelf with ten or twelve of the Souldiers, marching out of the Fort, with an intent to paſs over a Neck of Land, to burn the Marſhes; as ſoon as ever they were paſſed over the ſtreight of the Neck, they eſpyed a Company of Indians making towards the ſaid Iſthmus, which if they could not recover, they ſee they muſt all periſh; whereupon returning back with all ſpeed, they very narrowly eſcaped, and were two or three of them killed notwithſtanding, before they could get back into the Fort, which was preſently ſurrounded with multitudes of them; but the diſcharging of a piece of Ordnance gave them warning to keep further from the

Walls

Walls: ſometimes they came with their Canoes into the river in view of the Souldiers within the Fort, and when they apprehended themſelves out of reach of their gunns, they would imitate the dying groans & invocations of the poor Captive Engliſh, which the Engliſh Souldiers were forced with ſilent patience to bear; not being then in a capacity to requite their inſolent blaſphemyes. But they being by theſe horrible outrages juſtly provoked to indignation, unanimouſly agreed to joyn their Forces together to root them out of the earth with Gods Aſſiſtance.

The Colony of the *Maſſachuſets* did immediately ſet about it in the latter end of the Summer (1636) by ſending out fourſcore men under the Command of Capt. *Endicot* of *Salem*, who went to the *Pequod Country* by water, with Commiſſion to treat with the ſaid *Pequods*, firſt offering terms of peace, if they would ſurrender the Murtherers of the Engliſh, and forbear further acts of hoſtility, or elſe fight them.

The Captain aforeſaid coming aſhore with his Company, by a meſſage ſent them by an interpreter, obtained ſome little ſpeech with a great number of them at a diſtance; but after they underſtood what was propounded to them, firſt cunningly getting behind a hill, they preſently ran away into the Woods and Swamps, where there was no purſuing of them: however one diſcharging a gun among them as they were taking their flight, ſtayed the courſe of one, which was all that could be done againſt them for that time.

Winter approaching, and no encouragement preſenting further to purſue them, at that time it was reſolved better to return back for the preſent, and wait a further ſeaſon when more Forces could be gathered together to purſue the quarrel to the utmoſt.

During this interim the *Pequods* perceiving that they had by ſeveral late injuryes and outrages, drawn upon themſelves the hatred of all the Engliſh, as well as of their own people by former wrongs; and diſtruſting their own ability to deal with them all at once, did at the laſt by all ſubtle inſinuations, and perſwaſions, try to make their peace with the *Narhaganſets*, uſing ſuch Arguments as to right reaſon ſeemed not only pregnant to the purpoſe, but alſo (if revenge that bewitching and pleaſing paſſion of mans mind had not blinded their eyes) moſt cogent and invincible: But they were by the good providence of God witheld from embracing thoſe counſels, which might otherwiſe have proved moſt pernicious to the deſign of the Engliſh: *viz.* That the Engliſh were Strangers, and began to overſpread the Country, the which would ſoon be poſſeſſed by them to the depriving the ancient inhabitants of their

right, if they were not timely prevented; and that the *Narrhaganſets* would but make way for their own ruine, by helping to deſtroy the *Pequods*; for after themſelves were ſubdued, it would not be long ere the *Narrhaganſets* themſelves, would in the next place be rooted out likewiſe: Whereas if they would but joyn together againſt the Engliſh they could demonſtrate how the Engliſh might eaſily either be deſtroyed or forced to leave the Country, and that without any danger to themſelves: telling them alſo that they never need come to any open Battles, they might deſtroy them only by firing their houſes, and killing their Cattle, and lying in wait for them as they went about their ordinary occaſions; which courſe if it were purſued, they ſaid their new and unwelcome neighbours could not long ſubſiſt, but would either be ſtarved with hunger and cold, or forced to forſake the Country.

Machiavel himſelf if he had ſate in counſel with them could not have inſinuated ſtronger reaſons to have perſwaded them to a peace.

It is ſaid that ſo much reaſon was apprehended in theſe motives, that the *Narrhaganſets* were once wavering, and were almoſt perſwaded to have granted an ear to their advice and perſwaſion and joyned all againſt the Engliſh; but when they conſidered what an advantage they had put into their hands by the ſtrength and favour of the Engliſh, to take a full revenge of all their former injuries, upon their inveterate Enemies, the thought of that was ſo ſweet that it turned the ſcale againſt all other conſiderations whatſoever.

The report of the unheard of cruelties forementioned filling the ears of the Engliſh throughout the Country; it was agreed by the joynt conſent of the Engliſh throughout the three Colonies to unite all their Forces together, for the ſuppreſſing the common Enemy, early in the Spring *Anno*, 1637. who were alſo moved thereunto by their own neceſſities as well as by the earneſt requeſt of their Friends at *Connecticut*.

Thoſe of *Plimouth* being written unto by the Governour of the *Maſſathuſets*, appeared very cordially willing thereunto, to which end they agreed to ſend fifty men at their own charge, with as much ſpeed as the matter required, with ſufficient Leaders appointed, and a Barke provided to carry them Proviſions, and tend upon them on all occaſions; but before they could be diſpatched away the next Spring, News was brought that the Enemy was wholly routed, ſo as their journey was ſtopped, and their good will accepted for the deed; as if they really had been there to have born their part in the Service, their non-appearance in time and place being not to be imputed to any backwardneſs in their

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minds; but to their too late invitation to the Service; the motion fetching a large compaſs from Connecticut down to the Maſſachuſets, from whom in the laſt place they were ſolicited thereunto. And for the other two Colonies, thoſe of *Connecticut* being quickned on by the ſpurr of neceſſity, and preſent ſenſe of the inſolency daily acted at their very doors, were ſooneſt upon their March, and by the good hand of God upon them, had given the main ſtroak before their Friends of the *Maſſachuſets* could come up with them, yet was there no repining for the want of the glory of the Victory, nor was their any cauſe, thoſe that were the chief actors therein being forward to give God the glory of the whole, and not willing to pocket up any thing thereof themſelves, acknowledging that they never ſaw more of God, or leſs of man in any buſineſs of that nature, as may more fully be underſtood by particulars enſuing.

The Colony of the *Maſſachuſets* determined to ſend an hundred and ſixty, of whom an hundred and twenty were ordered under the conduct of Capt. *Patrick* of *Watertown*, and Capt. *Trask* of *Salem*, Capt. *Stoughton* of *Dorcheſter*, being to command in chief; with whom was ſent that holy man of God Mr. *John Wilſon* (Paſtor of one Church of *Boſton*) the Charets and Horſemen of our *Iſrael*, by whoſe Faith and Prayer as ſometimes was ſaid of *Luther* (in reference to *Germany*) the Country was preſerved, ſo as it was confidently believed that no Enemy ſhould break in upon a place whilſt he ſurvived, which as ſome have obſerved accordingly came to paſs.

The matter requiring great expedition, and it being long before the whole company could be diſpatched away, Capt. *Patrick* with forty men were ſent away before hand, to be ſure to meet with thoſe of *Connecticut* in caſe they ſhould be in action, before the reſt of our Forces could get into a readineſs, which accordingly came to paſs; for the main buſineſs in taking the Fort was over, even before the ſaid *Patrick* could get thither. Capt. *Underhill* was ſent by Mr. *Vane* the Governour to *Saybrook* the winter before to ſtrengthen the Gariſon there. The aſſaulting and ſurprizing of which, being the moſt remarkable piece of ſervice in that whole expedition; take it as it was delivered in writing by that valiant, faithful and prudent Commander Capt. *Maſon*, chief in the action, who lived long after to reap the fruit of his labour, and enjoy the benefit of that dayes ſervice, having an Inheritance given him in that part of the Country, as a juſt reward of his faithful ſervice on that day as well as at other times. *Wequaſh* a *Pequod* by Nation, but diſguſted by the Sachem, proved a good guide by whoſe direction they were led

led to a Fort near *Myſtick* River, ſome miles nearer then *Saſſacous* his Fort, which they firſt intended to aſſault.

'On the ſecond Wedneſday of *May*, being the tenth day of that 'Month, we ſet ſayle with ninety men of the Engliſh in one Pink, one 'Pinnace, two Boats toward the *Pequods*, with ſeventy River Indians, ha- 'ving ſomewhat a long paſſage to *Saybrook* Fort, about forty of our In- 'dians deſired to go down by land on Saturday, but on Munday they 'went forth from the Fort, and meeting ſeven *Pequods* and *Mian- 'ticks*, they ſlew five outright, took one Priſoner and brought him into '*Saybrook* Fort, where he was executed by Captain *Underhill*, the other 'eſcaped.

'On Munday we all landed at *Saybrook* Fort, and ſtayed there till 'tueſday; Capt. *Underhill* joyning nineteen men with himſelf to us: 'whereupon we ſent back twenty of ours to ſtrengthen our Plantations; 'and ſo ſet ſayl on thurſday towards *Narrhaganſet*, and arrived there on 'fryday.

'On Saturday my ſelf, with Capt. *Underhil*, Leiftenant *Sealy*, with 'our guard marched to *Canonicus* by land, being about five miles diſtant, 'where we were kindly entertained after their manner: having had par- 'ly with him, we ſent to *Miantonimo*, who would give no preſent an- 'ſwer; and ſo our Sabbath being on the morrow, we adjourned our mee- 'ting untill Monday, at which time there aſſembled *Miantonimo* with the 'chiefeſt of them about two hundred men; and being ſolemnly ſet for 'Conſultation after their manner; we told them we were now going God 'aſſiſting, to revenge the wrong committed and bloud ſhed by their & our 'enemies, upon our native Country-men, not any way deſiring their aid, 'unleſs they would voluntarily ſend, which they did exceedingly approve 'of: moreover we told them that the Engliſh and they had alwayes been 'friends for ought we knew, & ſo we were with the Indians that had not 'wronged Engliſh-men, the which they acknowledged, and ſo made a 'large deſcription of the *Pequods* Country, and told us they would ſend 'men with us; ſo we reſolved there to keep our rendezvouze at *Canonicus* 'his Plantation on the morrow night being Tuesday: but the wind being 'ſtiff, we could not land our men till five or ſix of the clock in the after- 'noon, at which time I landed on *Narrhaganſet* ſhoar with thirty two men 'and ſo marched to the place of Rendezvouze formerly appointed: Capt. '*Underhill* and my Leiftenant landed the reſt, and ſo came up to me that 'night. About two hours before day came an Indian with a Letter from 'Capt. *Patrick*, being then at Mr. *Ro. Williams* his plantation with four- 'ty men, who deſired us to ſtay for his coming and joyning, not intima-

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ting when that would be: the which being conſidered and debated, we thought could not be our ſafeſt courſe, (though his preſent aſſiſtance was much deſired) for theſe Reaſons.

Firſt. Becauſe the day before when we had abſolutely reſolved to go, the *Indians* plainly told us they thought we were but in jeſt, and alſo that Engliſh-men did talk much but not fight, nay they concluded that they would not goe on: and beſides if we ſhould deferre, we feared we ſhould be diſcovered by reaſon of the frequent recourſe between them by certain *Squaws* (who have mutual recourſe) whereupon we were conſtrained to ſet forward toward the *Pequods*, with ſeventy ſeven Engliſh, and about ſixty River Indians, and as I ſuppoſe near about two hundred *Narrhaganſets*, and marched that night to the eaſtern *Nianticks*, where we kept our Rendezvouze that night; The Sachem of the place adding about an hundred of his men unto us.

We ſet forward and marched about ten miles, where making an Alta (or halt) there we held a conſultation with the Indians that deſired to know what we intended; we told them that we reſolved to aſſault *Saſſacous* his Fort, at which they were all ſtricken, and as it were amazed with fear, as they plainly confeſſed; and ſo after long debate and preſſing of them, taxing them with cowardize, ſome of them reſolved to goe along with us, though I ſuppoſe they had no ſuch intent, as appeared afterward; ſome of them left us to the number as I ſuppoſe of an hundred or leſſe; and marching on five miles further, we made another Alta, where they told us we had near a dozen miles to *Saſſacous* his Fort as we gathered by their relation: Being very weary in travelling with our arms, amunition and proviſion; we were conſtrained to alter our reſolution, and reſolve to attempt that Fort the which they had formerly deſcribed to be three or four miles nearer; and alſo one of Capt. *Underhills* men failing put it out of doubt. But whoſoever ſaith that Capt. *Underhill* had any falling out about that or any thing elſe, doth ſpeak untruth: for we both reſolved to *Saſſacous* his Fort, as we concluded in our conſultation at *Narrhaganſet*, and ſo continued our reſolution till we received the former reaſons as grounds ſufficient to perſwade us to the contrary, and to proſecute that which was moſt likely to be accompliſhed.

They drew a Plot of the ſituation of the *Pequods* and deſcribed *Saſſacous* his Fort to be the neareſt, which was the chief cauſe we determined to aſſault that firſt, and had no reaſon leading till our laſt Alta, where upon the reaſons formerly mentioned, we changed our reſolution: this they much deſired and verymuch rejoyced; for it was dreadfull to them to hear the name of *Saſſacous*.

From thence we marched two or three miles where we kept our rendezvouze, ſuppoſing we had been within one mile of the Fort: They having ſent an *Indian* to diſcover beforehand, brought us newes that they were ſecure, having been fiſhing with many Canooes at Sea, and diverſe of them walking here and there.

About two hours before day we marched toward the Fort, being weary and much ſpent; many of us having ſlept nothing at all.

And ſo we began to march toward the Fort, the Lord being pleaſed wonderfully to to aſſiſt and encourage us; after a tedious march of three or four miles, about break of day we came fair in view of the Fort ſtanding on the top of an hill not ſteep; the Indians all falling back, were ſuddenly vaniſhed out of ſight, ſo we made an Alta, and ſent back for our Guide, who had promiſed to goe with us to the Fort, but his heart we ſaw much failed him; we asked him what they intended who promiſed to wing us, and to ſurround the Fort; he told us they were much afraid; but he ſeing our reſolution went to them and prevailed with diverſe of them to come up to us; we told them their beſt courſe would be to flanke the Fort on both ſides, and having no time longer to conferre, we proceeded; Capt. *Underhill* to the weſtern entrance with one diviſion, my ſelf with the other to the eaſtern as ſilently as poſſibly we could, ſo it pleaſed God we came up with the Paliſado within two rod, before we were diſcovered, at which time a dog began to bark, & an *Indian* cried out, but not being my ſelf rightly informed by the *Indian* of the right entrance, though there was a little poſtern door, the which I had thought to have attempted to break down with my foot; but the Lord directed me otherwiſe for the better; for I then feared we could not there enter with our armes, which proved true, ſo I ſuddenly haſted to the Paliſado, and putting in the muzzle of my piece, diſcharged upon them, and ſo the reſt with all celerity; and ſuddenly haſtned on toward that ſide which ſtood toward the water; where I concluded was an entrance, and inſtantly fell upon it, being only barred with two great forked boughs, or branches of ſome tree, and haſting over them, I drew one after me my Lieutenant the other way outward; then we ſuddenly fell upon the Wigwams, the Indians cryed out in moſt hideous manner, ſome iſſuing out of the Wigwams, ſhooting at us deſperately, and ſo creeping under beds that they had. We had reſolved awhile not to have burned it, but being we could not come at them, I then reſolved to ſet it on fire, after diverſe of them were ſlain, and ſome of our men ſore wounded: So entring one of their wigwams, I took a fire-brand [*at which time an Indian drawing an arrow had killed him, but one* Davis *his Serjeant cut the Bow-*

Bow-string with his Courtlace] and ſuddenly kindled a fire in the matts wherewith they were covered, and fell to a retreat and ſurrounded the Fort; the fire encreaſing violently, inſomuch as that they were conſtrained to climb to the top of the Paliſadoe, from whence they were ſoon fetcht down, I ſuppoſe to the number of an hundred and forty; many of them iſſuing forth were ſuddenly ſlain either by the Engliſh or Indians, who were in a ring without us, all being diſpatched and ended in the ſpace of an hour, having two of our men ſlain, and ſixteen wounded.

Being very hot and dry we could very hardly procure any water, where we continued one hour not knowing what courſe to take or which way to go, our Pinnaces not being come in, neither did we know how far, or which way to go to them; our Interpreter being an Indian and they ſo hurried and diſtracted with a few hurt men, but chiefly as I conceive with fear of the Enemy, who ſuddenly approached, that we could hardly come to ſpeak with him, who knew nothing what they intended.

But the Enemy approaching they began to cleave unto us, and I verily think durſt not leave us.

Our Pinnaces then coming in view with a fair gale, being guided as it were to ſerve our neceſſity by the good hand of God, which I think was never more eminently ſeen in a matter of like moment and leſs of man in ſeveral paſſages. Then we ſet our men in order and prepared for fight and began to march toward the Harbour where the Pinnaces were to ride: the Enemy approaching Capt. *Underhill* with divers Indians and certain Engliſh iſſued out to encounter them, but they would not ſtand to it, for the moſt part they lay behind Rocks, Trees and Buſhes, we marched on they ſtill dodging of us; ſometimes deſperately hazarding themſelves in open field, where ſome of them were ſlain in open view, and as we hear many *wounded*: I was ſomewhat cautelous in beſtowing many ſhot upon them needleſly, becauſe I expected a ſtrong oppoſition; and thus they continued to follow us till we came within two miles of our Pinnaces where they wholly left us, which was near ſix miles as I conceive, having then about two miles more to the River.

Four of our wounded men we were forced to carry our ſelves, while at length we hired the *Indians* to bear them, both in this and all their following enterpriſes againſt the *Pequods*:

Here note that one *Wequaſh* a *Pequod* fell from his Country-men, and proved a Guide to the Engliſh.

This ſervice being thus happily accompliſhed by theſe few hands that

came from *Connecticut*, within a while after, the Forces ſent from the *Maſſachuſets* under the conduct of Captain *Stoughton* as Commander in chief arrived there alſo, who found a great part of the work done to their hands, in the ſurprizal of the *Pequods* Fort as aforeſaid, which yet was but the breaking of the neſt, and unkenneling thoſe ſalvage Wolves; for the Body of them, with *Saſſacous* the chief Sachem (whoſe very name war a terrour to all the *Narrhaganſets*) were diſperſed abroad and ſcattered all over their Country, yet ſo far diſmayed, that they never durſt make any aſſault upon the Engliſh, that in ſeveral parties were ſcatered about in purſuit of them.

It was not long after Capt. *Stoughtons* Souldiers came up before news was brought of a great number of the Enemy, that were diſcovered by the ſide of a River up the Country, being firſt trapanned by the *Narhaganſets*, under pretence of ſecuring them, but they were truly hemmed in by them, though at a diſtance, yet ſo as they could not, or durſt not ſtir from the place, by which means our Forces of the *Maſſachuſets* had an eaſie Conqueſt of ſome hundreds of them who were there couped up as in a Pound: not daring to fight, not able to fly away, and ſo were all taken without any oppoſition: the men among them to the number of thirty were turned preſently into *Charons* Ferry-boat, under the command of Skipper *Gallop*, who diſpatched them a little without the Harbour; the Females and Children were diſpoſed of according to the will of the Conquerers, ſome being given to the *Narrhaganſets*, and other Indians that aſſiſted in the ſervice.

The reſt of the Enemy being firſt fired out of their ſtrong hold, were taken and deſtroyed, a great number of them, being ſeized in the places where they intended to have hid themſelves, the reſt fled out of their own Country over *Connecticut* River, up toward the *Dutch Plantation*. Our Souldiers being reſolved by Gods aſſiſtance to make a final deſtruction of them, were minded to purſue them which way ſoever they ſhould think to make their eſcape, to which end in the next place, our Souldiers went by Water towards *New-Haven*, vvhether they heard, and vvhich in reaſon vvas moſt likely) they bent their courſe? ſoon after they vvere informed of a great number of them, that had betaken themſelves to a neighbouring place not far of, vvhither they might hope it vvas not like they ſhould be purſued; but upon ſearch they found fifty or ſixty Wigvvams, but vvithout any Indians in any of them, but heard that they had paſſed along tovvard the *Dutch Plantation*, vvhereupon our Souldiers that vvere before, all embarked for *Quillepiack*, afterwards called *New-Haven*, and being landed there, they had not far

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to march unto the place where it was moſt probable they ſhould find or hear of them; accordingly in their march they met here & there with ſundry of them, whom they ſlew or took priſoners, amongſt whom were two Sachems, whom they preſently beheaded; to a third that was either a Sachem or near a kin to one, they gave his life upon condition that he ſhould goe and enquire where *Saſſacous* was, and accordingly bring them word; this *Indian* overlooking all other national or natural obligations, in conſideration of his life that was received on that condition, proved very true and faithfull to thoſe that ſent him, his order was to have returned in three dayes, but not being able within ſo ſhort a time to make a full diſcovery of the buſineſs, & alſo find an handſome way to eſcape, he made it eight dayes before he returned, in which ſomething fell out not a little remarkable; for thoſe he was ſent to diſcover, ſuſpecting at the laſt by his withdrawing himſelf that he came for a Spye, purſued after him, ſo as he was forced to fly for his life, and getting down to the Sea-ſide he accidentally met with a Canooe a little before turned adrift, by which means he padled by ſome ſhift or other ſo farr out of the harbour, that making a ſign he was diſcerned of ſome on board one of the Veſſels that attended on our Souldiers, by whom being taken up he made known what he had diſcovered: But after he was gone *Saſſacous* ſuſpecting (and not without juſt cauſe) what the matter was, made his eſcape from the reſt with twenty or thirty of his men to the *Mohawkes*, by whom himſelf and they were all murthered afterward, being hired thereunto by the *Narrhaganſets*, as was confidently affirmed & believed.

Thus this treacherous and cruel Villain with his Companions, having againſt his Faith and promiſe, as well as contrary to the Lawes of nature and nations, murthered ſeveral others, both of the Dutch and Engliſh Nation, is in the ſame manner himſelf againſt the lawes of Hoſpitality murthered by thoſe to whom he fled for refuge; *Vengeance is mine ſaith the Lord, I will repay it.*

It is worthy our obſervation, that this *Saſſacous* the chief Sachem of the *Pequods*, as *Philip* of *Mount-hope*, (both of them in their ſeveral times and places the contrivers of many bloudy and cruel miſchiefs, yet) eſcaped the hands of thoſe whom they had ſo many wayes provoked to the utmoſt degree of indignation, that ſo they might not too much gratifie their own ſpirits in taking revenge, but it muſt be brought about by thoſe means, in which the glory of divine vengeance and juſtice ſhall more eminently ſhine forth; that it might be truly ſaid of them as *Adonibezek* confeſſed of himſelf, *As I have dont, ſo God hath requited me.* But to return.

...orders of the *Pequods* from whome *Sassacus* had made an escape, ...aved every one for himself, leaving but three or four behind them (when a party of our Souldiers according to the direction of him that was sent as a Spy came upon the place) who would not or could not tell them whither their Company were fled; but our Souldiers ranging up and down as providence guided them, at the last, *July* 13. 1637. they lighted upon a great number of them, they pursued in a small *Indian* town seated by the side of an hideous Swamp (near the place where *Fairfield* or *Stratford* now stand) into which they all slipt as well *Pequods* as natives of the place, before our men could make any shot upon them, having placed a Centinel to give warning; Mr. *Ludlow* and Capt. *Mason* with half a score of their men happned to discover this crew. Capt. *Patrick* and Capt. *Trask* with about an hundred of the *Massachuset* Forces came in upon them presently after the alarm was given; such Commanders as first happned to be there gave special order that the Swamp should be surrounded (being about a mile in Compass) but Lieutenant *Davenport* belonging to Capt. *Trask* his Company, not hearing the word of Command, with fourteen more of his Company in an over eager pursuit of the enemy, rushed immediately into the Swamp, where they were very rudely entertained by those evening wolves that were then kennelled therein; for Lieut. *Davenport* was sorely wounded in the Body, *John Wagwood* of *Ipswich* in the belly, and was laid hold on also by some of the Indians, *Thomas Sherman* of the said *Ipswich* in the neck; some of their neighbours that ventured in with them were in danger of the Enemies arrows that flew very thick about them, others were in as much hazzard of being swallowed by the miery boggs of the Swamp wherein they stuck so fast that if Serjeant *Riggs* of *Roxbury* had not rescued two or three of them they had fallen into the hands of the enemy, but such was the strength and courage of those that came to the rescue, that some of the Indians being slain with their Swords, their friends were quickly relieved and drawn out of the mire and danger.

In the mean time the Indians of the place, who had for company sake run with their Countrymen the *Pequods* into the Swamp, did not love their friendship so well as to be hanged with them also for company sake, wherefore they began to bethink themselves that they had done no wrong to the English, and desired a parley which was granted, & presently understood by the means of *Thomas Stanton* an exact Interpreter then at hand, upon which the Sachem of that place with several others their wives and children, that liked better to live with the English in their Wigwams then be buried in the Swamps came forth and had their lives granted them: after some time of [illegible]

ther parley with theſe, the interpreter was ſent in to offer the like terms to the reſt, but they were poſſeſſed with ſuch a ſpirit of ſtupidity and ſullenneſs that they reſolved rather to ſell their lives for what they could get there, and to that end began to let fly their arrowes thick againſt him as intending to make his bloud ſome part of the price of their own, but through the goodneſs of God toward him, his life was not to be ſold on that account, he being preſently fetched off.

By this time night drawing on, our Commanders perceiving on which ſide of the Swampe the enemies were lodged, gave order to cut through the Swamp with their ſwords, that they might the better hemme them round in one corner, which was preſently done, and ſo they were begirt in all night, the Engliſh in the circumference plying them with ſhot all the time, by which meanes many of them were killed and buried in the mire, as they found the next day. The Swamp by the forementioned device being reduced to ſo narrow a compaſs, that our ſouldiers ſtanding at twelve foot diſtance could ſurround it, the enemy was kept in all the night; but a little before day-break (by reaſon of the Fogge that uſeth to ariſe about that time obſerved to be the darkeſt time of the night) twenty or thirty of the luſtieſt of the enemy brake through the Beſiegers, and eſcaped away into the woods, ſome by violence and ſome by ſtealth dropping away, ſome of whom notwithſtanding were killed in the purſuit, the reſt were left to the mercy of the Conquerers, of which many were killed in the ſwamp like ſullen doggs, that would rather in their ſelf-willedneſs and madneſs ſit ſtill to be ſhot through or cut in pieces, then receive their lives for the asking at the hand of thoſe into whoſe power they were now fallen: Some that are yet living and worthy of credit doe affirm, that in the morning entring into the Swamp, they ſaw ſeveral heaps of them ſitting cloſe together, upon whom they diſcharged their pieces laden with ten or twelve piſtol bullets at a time, putting the muzzles of their pieces under the boughs within a few yards of them, ſo as beſides thoſe that were found dead (near twenty) it was judged that many more were killed and ſunk into the mire and never were minded more by friend or foe: of thoſe who were not ſo deſperate or ſullen to ſell their lives for nothing, but yielded in time, the male Children were ſent to the *Bermudas*, of the females ſome were diſtributed to the Engliſh towns, ſome were diſpoſed of among the other Indians to whom they were deadly enemies as well as to our ſelves.

Thus overthrow given to the *Pequods* ſtruck ſuch a terror into all the Indians in thoſe parts (ſome of whom had been ill-affected to the Engliſh before) that they ſought our friendſhip, and tendred themſelves to be under

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der our protection, which they then obtained, and have never ſince forfeited it any of them till this late rebellion of *Philip* the ſubject of the diſcourſe foregoing. Amongſt the reſt of the Priſoners ſpecial notice was taken of the Wife of a noted Indian called *Mononotto*, who with her Children ſubmitted her ſelf, or by the chance of the warre fell into the hands of the Engliſh: it was known to be by her mediation that two Engliſh maides (that were taken away from *Wethersfield* upon *Connecticut* River) were ſaved from death, in requital of whoſe pitty and humanity, the life of her ſelf and her children was not only granted her, but ſhe was in ſpecial recommended to the care of that honourable gentleman Mr. *John Winthrop*, for that time being the worthy Governour of the *Maſſachuſets*; who taking notice of her modeſt countenance and behaviour, as well as of her only requeſt (not to ſuffer wrong either as to the honour of her body or fruit of her womb) gave ſpecial charge concerning her according to his noble and Chriſtian diſpoſition.

After this ſlaughter at the Swamp the *Pequods* being upon every turn expoſed to revenge of the *Mohegins* on one ſide, and *Narrhaganſets* on the other, choſe rather to ſubmit themſelves to the Engliſh, by whom they were put, ſome under the *Mohegin*, and ſome under the *Narrhaganſets*, which at laſt proved the occaſion of the preſent quarrel as is conceived, through the ambition of *Miantonimo*, as was at firſt related.

This was the iſſue of the *Pequod Warre*, which in the day of it here in *New-England* was then as formidable to the Country in general as the preſent Warre with *Philip*; the experience of which becauſe it may adminiſter much matter of Comfort and encouragement to the ſurviving Generation, as well as of praiſe and thanksgiving to almighty God from all thoſe who have thus long quietly enjoyed the benefit and reaped the fruit of their labour, and courage who engaged therein: the more pains hath been taken to ſearch out the broken pieces of that Story and thus put them together before the memory thereof was buried in the ruines of time, and paſt the recovery and knowledg of the preſent age, the which though it be here in the laſt place recorded, ſhould in the firſt be remembred.

A Table ſhewing the Towns and places which are inhabited by the Engliſh in *New-England*: thoſe that are marked with figures, as well as expreſſed by their names, are ſuch as were aſſaulted by the Indians, during the late awfull revolutions of providence.

Numb. 1. *Mount-hope*. A gallant neck of Land where *Philip* dwelt who firſt began the inſurrection againſt the Engliſh, *June* 24. 1675.

2. The place where ſtands the town of *Swanzy* conſiſting of forty dwelling houſes, moſt of them very fair Buildings, juſt at the entrance on to *Mount-hope*, where were *June*, 24. 1675, ſlain ſix men at *Bournes* Garriſon, in *Metapoiſet* (another Neck marked *) not far from the former) and three wounded as they came from the publick Meeting, two kill'd that went for the Surgeon: and a negro of Mr. *Mile*'s wounded, ſo as he dyed ſoon after. Alſo *Layton Archer* and his ſon were ſlain *June* 25. which three belonged to *Road Iſland*, but were killed at the *Fall River*, though by miſinformation it is elſewhere publiſhed that it was done *June* 24. Alſo eighteen houſes were burnt within *Mount-hope*, th t belong d to *Swanzy town*; the reſt of the town being all burned the next year, *June* 16. 1676. ſave ſix houſes that are yet ſtanding; beſides the barbarous murther of Mr. *Hezekiah willet*, *June* 26. 1676.

3. *Middleburrough*, formerly called *Namaſket*, where *Sauſaman* was ſlain: it is ſcituate between *Plimouth* and *Tanton*, and is miſplaced in the *Map*. Here one *J. Marks* was walking in a field of Indian corn, in *July* 1675. had his thigh bone broke by a ſhot from an Indian, after which he lay forty eight hours before he was found, and yet was alive, but his wound was ſo putrefied, that he dyed thereof. When the town was firſt aſſaulted, the Miller running back to ſhut down his mill, was aſſaulted by ſeven Indians at one time, by eleven at another, had ſeveral bullets ſhot through his coat, yet gat ſafe to the Garriſon; but the people were forced to retire to *Plimouth* with their goods ſoon after, when the whole village was deſtroyed by the Indians.

4. *Dartmouth*, where in *July* 1676. a man and a woman were ſlain by the Indians; another woman was wounded and taken; but becauſe ſhe had kept an Indians child before, ſo much kindneſs was ſhewed her as that ſhe was ſent back, after they had dreſſed her wound; the Indians guarded her till ſhee came within ſight of the Engliſh.

5. *Seaconke* or *Rehoboth*, where were burned eight farm houſes in the end of *June*, and beginning of *July* 1675. on *March* 28. 1676. forty

five dwellling houſes were there burned, whereof thirty eight were inhabited, and the owners thereby turned out of doors, and left without houſe or harbour. Beſide 21. barns, two corn mills, one Saw Mill burnt at the ſame time. *June* 16. 1676. eight farm houſes were there alſo conſumed by the fire of the enemy. The perſons ſlain here were ſeven, four with Capt. *Pierce*, *March* 26. 1676. another *March* 28. another *Apr.* 28. The laſt *May* 29.

6. *Pocaſſet*, where were ſome houſes burned *July* 1675. and ſeven or eight ſlain in the Swamp near the place: here alſo Capt. *Church* gave the enemy a notable defeat the ſame month.

7. *Tanton*, where were fifteen perſons ſlain by the Indians, eleven men, two maids, & two youths: beſides a man ſlain in the fight with Capt. *Beers*; ſome in the year 1675. and ſome 1676. *Pag.* 25.26.

8. *Mendam*, where were the firſt Engliſh ſlain within the *Maſſachuſets* Colony, to the number of five or ſix, *July* 1675. within a few moneths after the whole village was deſtroyed. *pag* 26,27,31.

9. *Brookefield* or *Squabaog*, was deſtroyed by the Indians *Auguſt* 2. 1675. thereof the chief inhabitants *viz.* *John Eires*, *John Pritchet* and *Richard Coy*, treacherouſly ſlain under pretence of a treaty. *pag.* 32.33.

10. *Deerfield* or *Pocumtuck*, a village newly planted, where *Sept.* 12. 1675. diverſe were ſlain, & the houſes burned by the enemy. Between this place and *Northampton* was a Skirmiſh with the enemy, 1675. eight or nine of the Engliſh were there ſlain, and twenty ſix of the enemy. Near unto this place was Capt. *Lothrop* ſet upon with ſeven or eight hundred Indians, whereby himſelf, and moſt of his Souldiers, to the number of 73. cut off *Sept.* 18. 1675. *pag.* 36,37,38,39. The fight at the *Falls*, a little beyond *Deerfield*. *pag.* 91. It is conſiderable that that the evening before Capt. *Turner* and Capt. *Holioke* gave the enemy a Camizado in the wigwams, they had been feaſting and dancing, having before they laid down to ſleep filled their bellyes with new Milk, (as an Engliſh woman then in their hands, did declare, who was made to milk *Hatfield* Cowes, which a day or two before they had driven away. So that when they were moſt ſecure, deſtruction came upon a great part of them, to the number of three hundred and fifty, as was judged by ſuch as were there. *vide pag.* 91.

11. *Squakheag*, another village newly begun, which was alſo deſtroyed *Sept.* 1675. near unto this place Capt. *Beers* was ſlain, and nineteen of his men, as they went to relieve the garriſon there. *pag.* 37.

12. *Springfield*, which was treacherouſly aſſaulted *Octob.* 5. 1675. by three

three or four hundred Indians, when *L. Cooper* and two more were ſlain, and 85. houſes burned with other buildings belonging thereunto. Some others were there ſlain in the winter following, *pag* 41. Within a few miles of this place Capt. *Samuel Holioke* handſelled his office with the ſlaughter of four or five of the enemy. Three or four were here ſlain the winter following.

13. *Hatfield*, a ſmall town ſeated on the weſt ſide of *Connecticut River*, over againſt *Hadly*, which was furiouſly aſſaulted by 700 Indians, *Octob.* 19. 1675. yet was the place preſerved by the valour of the Engliſh with the loſs but of one man, Serjeant *Norton* by name, *pag* 42. although ſeven or eight of the Scouts were that day ſurpriſed and ſlain by the enemy, and one or two of the town. It was aſſaulted alſo 1676. when five men were ſlain that came to their relief from *Hadly*. *pag* 93.

14. *North-Hampton*, a fair town three or four miles diſtant from *Hatfield*, which was ſeveral times aſſaulted by the enemy, yet was preſerved with the loſs but of a few of the people, and the burning of ſeven or eight of the houſes thereof, *pag*. 44. 77.

15 *Hadly*, a conſiderable town on the eaſt ſide of *Connecticut River*, violently aſſaulted by the enemy, yet no conſiderable hurt done, *June* 12. 1676. only ſome few were ſurprized and ſlain, *pag*. 94. that without order would venture without the Palizadoes. In the *March* before one Goodman *Deacon* of the Church, was ſlain at *Hoccanum*, belonging to *Hadley*, and two more that went againſt order and Command, to the top of mount *Holioke*.

16. *Weſtfield*, a ſmall town ſeven miles weſt from *Springfield*, where ſome few houſes were burned before or in the winter, 1675. and three or four perſons ſlain, as they paſſed toward *Springfield*, *pag*. 44.

17. A Village called *Quonſigomog* in the middle way between *Marlborough*, & *Quabaog*, conſiſting of about ſix or ſeven houſes.

18. *Jer. Bulls* garriſon houſe, at *Pettiquemſcot*, ſurprized and ſundry perſons ſlain; a very great damage to the deſign then in hand againſt *Narrhaganſet Fort*. pag. 50. 51.

19. *Canonicus Fort* taken by the Forces of the three Colonyes, *Decemb*. 19. 1675. though with the loſs of many of the Engliſh, 79. being ſlain right out, and about an hundred wounded; of the enemy were ſlain by the confeſſion of ſome priſoners, about 300. of their beſt men; though *Ninicrafts* men who buried the dead there left, ſpeak not of a third part ſo many, *pag*. 51, 52.

20. *Warwick*, a town near *Providence* ſeated upon a neck of land, environed by the ſea, was all of it burned by the enemy at ſeveral times,

the chief miſchief there done, was upon the 16. *March* 1676. and the place wholly deſerted by the Inhabitants for a time; yet but one man killed, that was too confident of his ſafety, as is ſaid.

Providence, is the town next *Warwick*, where were eighteen houſes burned *June* 28. 1675. *March* 29 following, fifty four houſes were there burned, and moſt of the reſt as they were deſerted by the Inhabitants withdrawing to *Road-Iſland*.

Petuxet is another ſmall place within four miles of *Providence*, where were twelve houſes burned in the beginning of *March*, 1676. *pag.* 66.67. It was by a ſmall brook called *Abbots Run*, that falls into *Patuxet*, (a River near *Providence*) where Captain *Pierce* and his men were ſlain. *ibid.*

Bridgwater, a ſmall town between *Taunton* and *Weymouth*. *pag.* 68.

21. *Lancaſter*, or *Naſhaway*. a ſmall town of about 50. familyes, was aſſaulted *Febru.* 10. 1675 by 500. Indians in five ſeverall companies; yet they took but one garriſon houſe; wherein were forty two perſons, but eight or nine ſouldiers, whereof but one eſcaped; the reſt were women and children, who were moſt of them returned after ſome months Captivity. And to prevent miſtakes, let it here be obſerved, that none of the women were abuſed, or murthered, but one that was big with child, unable to travel, and much diſcontented, whom the Indians, having made a great fire, and gathered a Ring about her, firſt knocked her on the head, after they had pulled off her cloaths, then barbarouſly caſt her into the Fire. No credit is to be given to any other reports of Cruelty towards any Engliſh Woman in that part of the Countrey.

23. *Groton*, ſurprized *March* 2. as is related *pag.* 60. & 61. the place conſiſting of about 60. families, was ſoon after deſerted, yet are there 14. or 15. houſes left ſtanding to this day, though not inhabited for the preſent. *pag.* 73.

25. *Wickford*, where was Mr. *Smiths* houſe the rendezvouze of our ſouldiers, the laſt winter, when they ſpoyled the *Narrhaganſet Fort*.

28. *Medfield*, a midling town, ten or twelve miles beyond *Dedham*, ſurpriſed by the Indians; ſeventeen perſons ſlain, and much of the town burned, *pag* 61, 62.

31. *Marlborough*, a town ten miles beyond *Sudbury*, in the way to *Connecticut*, the people repairing in time to garriſon houſes, were not many of them ſlain; yet were many or moſt of their houſes burned that were deſerted, *March* 26. 1676.

32. *Sudbury*, A convenient town, violently aſſaulted *Apr.* 18. 1676.

*p.*79. by eight or nine hundred Indians (the Inhabitants ſpeak of 1400) a tripartite company intending to have carried all before them, yet ſlew but three of the inhabitants, beſides ten or eleven that came to their relief from *Concord*, that were ſadly loſt for want of good conduct. *Feb.* 12. 1675. *Tho. Eames* his houſe at a farm three miles diſtant from the town, his corn, cattle, barns all burned, his family captived; the next day his ſons wife dyed; *Eames* himſelf being from home.

33. *Concord*, a conſiderable town five or ſix miles to the North-weſt of *Sudbury*; they ſuſtained not much damage in the town, ſave only in ſome Farms that were at ſome diſtance there from: two men threſhing at a Barn, a young maid ſet to watch, was carried captive and the men both ſlain; the maid ſtrangly eſcaped ſoon after. *pag.*80.

34. *Chelmsford*, where were many deſerted houſes burned in the beginning of *April* 1676. belonging to one *Ed. Colburn*, that had formerly purchaſed the ſeat of Capt. *Web.* And to *Samuel Varnham*, who had two ſons ſlain in the Boat as they were paſſing the River.

35. *Andover*, a ſmall town fifteen miles weſt from *Ipſwich*; where alſo in *April* was one or two killed, and one taken Captive.

36. 37. 38. *Hingham* and *Weymouth*, in each of which was one or two killed *April* 19. 1676. in the ſame moneth two or three were killed at *Andover*, *Haverhill*, *Bradford*.

39. *Woburn*, where ſome skulking Indians, that had robbed ſome of their gardens at *Cambridge* of linnen, came into a houſe, killed a woman and two children; but being purſued, & ſhot at, as they ſate by a ſwamp ſide, they dropped their bundle of linnen, in which was found wrapt up the ſcalp of one or both the children.

40. *Caſco*, a large Bay ſcatteringly inhabited and full of Iſlands, where *Sept.* 1. 1675. Mr. *Purchaſe* his houſe was plundered.

Sept. 9. following *Wakely*'s houſe and family were ſpoiled.

12. *ditto*. Two houſes burned of Mr. *Mountjoy*'s, and two young men ſlain as they were fowling.

19. One ſlain at *Blew-point*; another wounded, ſo as he dyed the next day.

20. A man and his wife ſlain.

Octob. 19. following, eleven or twelve houſes burned at *Scarborough* a place not far from *Caſco*. with 500 buſhels of corn in barns.

Octob. 9. Lieut. *Augur* mortally wounded, and his Brother ſlain, and two more wounded.

10. *ditto*. *Henery Williams* ſorely wounded on *Sawco* ſands or Downs, marvelouſly eſcaped from two Indians paſſing to *Blackpoint*.

13. Capt.

This shot repeats the previous one, but with different lighting.

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13. Capt. *Wincol*, that came to relieve *Black-Point*, had two of his men ſlain, and two more with an Inhabitant wounded; himſelf and his Party engaged the ſame day with an hundred Indians or more; yet was delivered by the ſhelter of an heap of Bolts: But nine men coming to their relief from *Sawco* were all ſlain on the *Downs* the ſame day; *Thomas Rogers* one of the nine, his houſe burned the next day. *Part.2. pag.25.26.*

15. Lieut. *Alcock* of *Kittery* buried them.

16. *ditto.* The Body of *Winter-harbour* houſes were fired by the enemy; three men ſlain, and one woman carried away.

17. Six houſes fired on the north ſide of *Sawco River.*

18. Six or ſeven houſes fired by the enemy at *Sawco* by night, which were the firſt that were fired in the night time.

50. *Sawco*, Where Major *Phillips* his habitation was, aſſaulted *Sept.* 18. 1675. *pag*, 16,17.

The 3*d.* of *November.* twenty of the Inhabitants of *Scarborough* or *Black-Point*, were ſet upon by ſixty Indians, by whom they had been deſtroyed, but that Enſigne *Tipping*, the week before ſent from *Boſton* for the Relief of that place, came ſeaſonably to their relief.

6. *ditto*, a *Boſton* Souldier was mortally wounded: ſeveral houſes that day burned, yet were they by the valour of the Engliſh beaten into Swamps, but what number of them was ſlain, is uncertain.

21. Two houſes more burnt at *Saweo.*

51. *Wells*, where two or three were killed, *Par.2.pag.26.*

55. *Falmouth*, on the hither ſide of *Caſco Bay*, where *Auguſt* 11. about thirty four perſons were killed and taken by the Indians *p.32.33.34.*

54. *Spurwink*, and *Richmonds Iſland*, where Mr. *Fricrs* Ketch with ten men was taken, *Octob.* 11. 1676. *Par.2.p.45,46.*

47. *York*, at *Cape Nidduck* belonging thereunto, were ſeven barbarouſly murthered, *Sept.*25. 1676. *Par.2.pag.51.*

48. *Totonnock Fort*, which lyes up *Kennibeck River*, whither the Indians are ſaid to have fled, when Major *Walden* arrived there with his Souldiers in *February* laſt, 1676. and from whence the enemy came down when they ſeized the Inhabitants of *Kennibeck*, and *Arowſick Iſland*, *Aug* 11. 1676. which is ſcituate in the mouth of the ſaid River.

It is Reported by ſome of the Inhabitants of *Kennebeck*, lately fled, or rather driven from thence, that about five years ſince, four Engliſh men were ſlain by the *Amoroscoggin* Indians, up *Pegypſcot* River, that runs into *Kennebeck*; but it was concealed by the wicked Traders of thoſe parts, for fear of diſcovering their wicked manner of trading with the Hea-

Heathen, which if it had been duly enquired into, when it was firſt done, much of what followed might have been prevented;

----- *Quid non mortalia pectora cogis*
Auri ſacra Fames ?

But ſuch Gains have proved like *Aurum Tholouſanum* to ſome of the Inhabitants of thoſe parts.

Kennibeck, how taken and when, *Par.2. pag.* 41. there is ſaid to be about fifty three killed and taken about *Kennibeck*, and at *Arouſick Iſland*. *Aug.* 13. 1676.

A Poſtſcript.

COncerning the *Narrhaganſets*, this is further to be added here, that Mr. *Thomas Stanton*, and his ſon *Robert*, who have a long time lived amongſt them, and beſt acquainted with their language and manners of any in *New-England*, doe affirm that to their knowledge, the *Narrhaganſet Sachems* before the late troubles had two thouſand fighting men under them, and nine hundred arms, yet are they at this day ſo broken and ſcattered, that there is none of them left on that ſide of the Country, unleſs ſome few, not exceeding ſeventy in number, that have ſheltered themſelves under the Inhabitants of *Road-Iſland*, as a Merchant of that place worthy of credit, lately affirmed to the Writer hereof. It is conſiderable by what degrees they have been conſumed & deſtroyed.

The firſt week in *April* laſt, *viz.* 1676. *Caronchet* their chief Sachem, having with this people been driven out of his own Country, by the ſword of the Engliſh the winter before, breathed ſtil nothing but rage and cruelty againſt them, bearing himſelf upon his great numbers: yet as appeared in the iſſue himſelf and they that eſcaped with him, were not ſo much preſerved from the preſent calamity that befell the reſt in their Fort, as reſerved to another and more ignominious death. For all the whole Body of the Indians to the weſtward truſting under the ſhadow of that aſpiring Bramble, he took a kind of care of them upon himſelf: wherefore foreſeeing ſo many hundreds could not well ſubſiſt without Planting, he propounded it in his Councell, that all the Weſt Plantations upon *Connecticut River*, taken from the Engliſh, ſhould this laſt Summer be planted with Indian-Corn: which was indeed in it ſelf a very prudent conſideration: To that end he reſolved to venture himſelf with but thirty men, (the reſt declining it) to fetch ſeed-corn from *Seaconk*, the next town to *Mount-hope*, leaving a Body of men, not fewer then fifteen hundred to follow him, or meet him about *Seaconk* the week after. This Adventure brought him into the ſnare, from whence he could not eſcape: For Capt. *George Deniſon* of *Stonington*, and Capt. *Avery* of *New London*, having raiſed forty ſeven Engliſh, the moſt part Volunteers, with

with *eighty Indians*, twenty of which were *Narrhaganſets* belonging to *Ninegret*; commanded by one called *Catapazet*. The reſt *Pequods* under *Caſaſinnamon*, and *Mohegins* under *Oneco*, Son to *Uncas*, being now abroad upon their *third Expedition*, which they began *March*, *the twenty ſeventh*, *1676.* and ended on the *tenth of April* following. They met with a *ſtout Indian* of the Enemies, whom they preſently ſlew, and *two old Squaws*, that confeſſed *Nanuntenoo*, *alias Canunchat*, (thoſe *chief Sachems* uſually *changing their names* at every *great dance*, and by that name of *Nanunttenoo* was he then known,) was not far of; which welcome News put *new Life* into the wearied Souldiers, that had travelled hard many dayes, and met with no *Booty* till now; eſpecially, when it was confirmed by Intelligence the ſame inſtant, brought in by their Scouts, that they met with *new Tracks* which brought them in view of ſome *Wigwams* not far from *Patucket*, by ſome called *Blackſtones River*, in one of which the ſaid *Sachem* was at that moment diverting himſelf, with the *recital* of *Captain Pierces ſlaughter*, ſurprized by his men a few dayes before, but the *Alarm* of the Engliſh at that time heard by himſelf, put by that diſcourſe, *apalled* with the ſuddenneſs thereof, as if he had been informed by *ſecret Item from Heaven*, that now his own turn was come: ſo as having but *ſeven men* about him, he ſent up *two of them* to the *top of the Hill*, to ſee what the matter was, but they affrighted with the near approach of the Engliſh, at that time with great ſpeed mounting over a *fair Champagna* on the other ſide of the Hill, ran by, as if they wanted time to tell what they ſaw; preſently he ſent a third, who did the like; then ſending two more on the *ſame Errand*, one of theſe laſt either induced with *more Courage*, or a better Senſe of his duty, informed him in *great haſt* that all the Engliſh Army was upon him; whereupon, having no time to conſult, and but little to Attempt an *eſcape*, and no means to defend himſelf; he began to *dodge* with his *purſuers*, running *round the Hill* on the *contrary ſide*; but as he was running ſo haſtily by, *Catapazat* with *twenty* of his *Followers*, and a few of the *Engliſh*, lighteſt of foot, gheſſed by the *ſwiftneſs* of his motion, that he fled as if an Enemy, which made them immediately take the *Chaſe* after him, as for their lives; he that was the *ſwifter purſuer*, put him ſo hard to it, that he caſt off firſt his *Blanket*, then his *ſilver lac'd Coat*, (given him at *Boſton* as a pledge of their *friendſhip*, upon the *renewal* of his *League* in *October* before,) and *Belt of Peag*, which made *Catapazat* conclude it was the *right bird*, which made them purſue as eagerly as the other *fled*; ſo as they forced him to take the water, through which as he over *haſtily plunged*, his foot *ſlipping* upon a ſtone, it made

 him

him fall into the water *so deep*, as it wetted *his Gun*, upon which *Accident*, he confeſſed ſoon after, that his *heart* and his *bowels* turned within him, ſo as he became like a *rotten ſtick*, void of *ſtrength*; inſomuch, as one *Monopoide* a *Pequod*, ſwifteſt of foot, laid hold of him within *thirty Rod* of the *River ſide*, without his making any *reſiſtance*; Though he was a very *proper man*, of *goodly ſtature*, and *great Courage* of mind, as well as *ſtrength of body*; one of the firſt Engliſh that came up with him, was *Robert Stanton*, a young man that ſcarce had reached the *twenty ſecond year* of his Age, yet adventuring to ask him a queſtion, or two, to whom this *manly Sachem* looking with a little neglect upon his *youthful face*, replyed in *broken Engliſh*; you *much Child*, no underſtand *matters of War*; let your *brother*, or your *chief* come, him I will Anſwer, and was as good as his word; Acting herein, as if by a *Pythagorean Metempſychoſis*, ſome *old Roman Ghoſt* had poſſeſſed the body of this *Weſtern Pagan*: And like *Attilius Regulus*, he would not accept of his own Life, when it was tendred him, upon that (in his account) *low Condition* of *Complyance* with the *Engliſh*, refuſing to ſend an *old Counſellour* of his to make any motion that way, ſaying, he knew the Indians would not yield; but more probably he was not willing they ſhould, choſing rather to *ſacrifice* his own, and his *peoples lives* to his *private humour* of *Revenge*, than timely to provide for *his own*, and *their ſafety*, by entertaining the *Counſels* of a *Peace*, ſo neceſſary for the *general good* of all; He continuing in the ſame his *obſtinate Reſolution*, was carryed ſoon after to *Stonington*, where he was *ſhot to death*, by ſome of his own *quality*, *ſc.* the *young Sachem* of the *Mohegins*, and two of the *Pequods* of like quality. This was the Confuſion of a *damned wretch*, that had often opned his mouth to *blaſpheme* the Name of the *living God* and thoſe that make profeſſion thereof. He was told at large of his *breach of Faith*, and how he boaſted he would not deliver up a *Wampanoog*, or the paring of a *Wampanoogs naile*, that He would burn the *Engliſh* alive in their houſes, to which he replyed, others were as forward for the War as himſelf; and that he deſired to hear no more thereof. And when he was told his *Sentence* was to dye, he ſaid, he liked it well, that he ſhould dy before his heart was ſoft, or had ſpoken any thing unworthy of himſelf. He told the Engliſh before they put him to death, that the killing him, would not end the War; but it was a conſiderable ſtep thereunto, nor did it live much longer after his death, at leaſt, not in thoſe parts; For after *Sudbury fight*, when the Sun of their hopes was at its *higheſt*, and *April the eighteenth* following, it *viſibly declined*, till it ſet in a night of *obſcure* and *utter darkneſs* upon them all, as is to be feared.

The

The Inhabitants of *New-London*, *Norwich*, and *Stonington*, apprehensive of their danger by reason of the near *bordering* of the *Eneo*, and upon other *prudent considerations*, voluntarily listed themselves under some *able Gentlemen*, and *Resolute Souldiers* amongst themselves, Major *Palmes*, *Captain George Denison*, *Captain Avery*, with whom, or under whom, within the compass of the year, 1676. they made *ten* or more, *several Expeditions*, in all which, at those several times they killed and took *two hundred and thirty nine* of the Enemy, by the help and assistance of the *Pequods*, *Mohegins*, and a few *friendly Narrhaganſets*. Besides thirty taken in the *long march* homeward, after the *Fort fight*, *December the nineteenth*, 1675. and besides *sixteen Captived* in the *second Expedition*, not reckoned within the *compass* of the said Number: together with *fifty Guns*; and spoyling the Enemy of *seven Bushels* of Corn.

In *January* they went again in pursuit, and took *five men* and a *Boy*. Certain *Nipnets* intended to have sheltred themselves under *Uncas*; but he perceiving it would be *distastful* to the English, soon *shab'd them off*; so as they were in the beginning of the *Winter* brought into *Boston*, many of them by *Peter Ephraim*, & *Andrew Pityme*, with their *Fellows*.

In all which Exploits, neither they, nor any of *their Followers* sustained any loss by the *Sword* of the Enemy, or *sickness*: As is expresly declared by the *Reverend Minister* of *Stonington*, Mr. *James Noyce*, which is a matter very *Admirable* to consider, engaging all that were any way concerned in such *signal Testimonies* of *Divine Favour*, to be ready to *pay their Vows to the most High*, who alone *teacheth* the *hands* of his people to war, and *their fingers to fight*.

But the *greatest Blow* given to the *Narrhaganſets* was by *Connecticut Forces* under Major *Talcot*, *July the second*, as is related, *part*, 1. *page* 97.

Amongst the rest of *the Prisoners* then taken, was a *young sprightly Fellow*, seized by the *Mohegins*; who desired of the English *Commanders* that he might be delivered into their hands, that they might *put him to death*, *more majorum*; sacrifice him to their *Cruel Genius of Revenge*, in which *bruitish* and *divelish passion* they are most of all delighted: The English though not delighted in blood, yet at this time were not unwilling to *gratifie their humour*, lest by a denyal, they might *disoblige* their *Indian friends*, of whom they lately made so much use: Partly also that they might have an *ocular demonstration* of the *Salvage*, *barbarous Cruelty* of these *Heathen*: And indeed, of all the *Enimies* that have been the Subjects of the *precedent discourse*; This *Villain* did most deserve to become an *Object* of *Justice* and *Severity*: For he boldly told them, that he had with his Gun dispatched *nineteen English*, and that he had

 charged

charged it for the *twentieth*; but not meeting with any of *ours*, and unwilling to loose a *fair shot*, he had let fly at a *Mohegin*, and kill'd him; with which, having made up his number, he told them he was fully satisfied. But as is usually said, *Justice Vindictive* hath *iron hands*, though *leaden feet*; This *cruel Monster* is fallen into their *power*, that will repay him *seven fold*: In the first place therefore, making a *great Circle*, they placed him in the *middle*, that all their Eyes might at the same time, be pleased with *utmost Revenge* upon him; They first cut one of his *Fingers* round in the *joynt*, at the *Trunck* of his *hand*, with a *sharp knife*, and then brake it off, as men use to do with a *slaughtered Beast*, before they *uncase* him; then they cut off another & another, till they had *dismembred* one hand of all its *digits*, the *blood* sometimes spirting out in *streams* a *yard* from his hand, which *barbarous* and *unheard of Cruelty*, the English were not able to bear, it forcing *Tears* from their Eyes; yet did not the *Sufferer* ever *relent*, or shew any sign of *Anguish*: For being asked by some of his *Tormentors*, how he liked the War? he might have replyed, as the *Scotch Gentleman* did after the loss of a *Battle*, that being asked how he liked *the match &c.* with our *Prince of Wales*, (which then was the occasion of the *quarrel*) made Answer, he liked the *match* well enough, but no whit liked the manner of the *wooing* written by such *Lines of blood*; but this *unsensible* and *hard hearted Monster* Answered, he liked it very well, and found it as sweet, as *English men* did their *Sugar*. In this frame he continued, till his *Executioners* had dealt with the *Toes of his feet*, as they had done with the *Fingers of his hands*; All the while making him *dance* round the *Circle*, and *sing*, till he had wearied both himself and them: At last they brake the *bones of his Legs*, after which he was forced to *sit down*, which 'tis said he silently did, till they had *knockt out his brains*. Instances of this nature should be *Incentives* unto us, to *bless the Father of Lights*, who hath called us out from the *dark places* of the *Earth*, full of the *Habitations of Cruelty*. When the *Day-spring* from on high shall visit those that sit in this *Region of darkness*, another Spirit will be poured upon them, and then the feet of them that bring the *glad Tydings* of *Gospel Salvation* will appear more *beautiful* to them than at present they seem to do. And when these *Mountains of Prey* shall become the *holy Mountain of the Lord*, they shall neither *hurt*, nor *destroy*, nor exercise *Cruelty* therein.

Moreover, in the beginning of *April*, 1677. Certain Intelligence came from *Pascataqua*; That some *strange Indians* had fallen upon *Major Walderns Indians*, and destroyed several of them.

It

It is alſo informed, that the Indians of *Kennibeck* have lately ſurprized *five* or *ſix* of the *Souldiers* by an *Ambuſh*, as they were about to have *buryed* ſome of the bodies of their *Friends*, ſlain in thoſe parts before the *laſt Winter*: And that they had the *laſt week* done the *like miſchief* to ſuch a number of the Inhabitants of *Black-point*, which is a *ſolemn Preſage* of *another Storm* like to fall upon thoſe *Eaſtern parts*, unleſs God prevent, this Summer enſuing.

For the further ſatisfaction of the Reader concerning the *perfidiouſneſs* and *falſneſs* of our Enemies, and the *juſtice* of our Cauſe, we ſhall cloſe this *Narrative* with the *Articles* which *Philip* Sachem of *Paukamaket*, or *Mount-hope*, ſubſcribed in the year, 1671.

WE PHILIP *and my Council and my Subjects, do Acknowledge our ſelves ſubject to his* MAJESTY *the King of England, and the Government of* N-Plimouth, *and to their Laws.*

2ly. *I am willing and do promiſe to pay unto the Government of Plymouth, one hundred pounds in ſuch things as I have: but I would intreat the favour that I might have three years to pay it in, forasmuch as I cannot do it at preſent,*

3dly.

3dly. I do promiſe to ſend unto the Governour, or whom he ſhall appoint, five Wolves heads, if I can get them: or as many as I can procure, until they come to five Wolves yearly.

4ly. If any difference fall between the Engliſh and my ſelf, and People, then I do promiſe to repair to the Governour of Plymouth, to rectifie the difference amongſt us.

5ly. I do promiſe not to make war with any, but with the Governours approbation of Plimouth.

6ly. I promiſe not to diſpoſe of any of the Lands that I have at preſent, but by the approbation of the Governour of Plymonth.

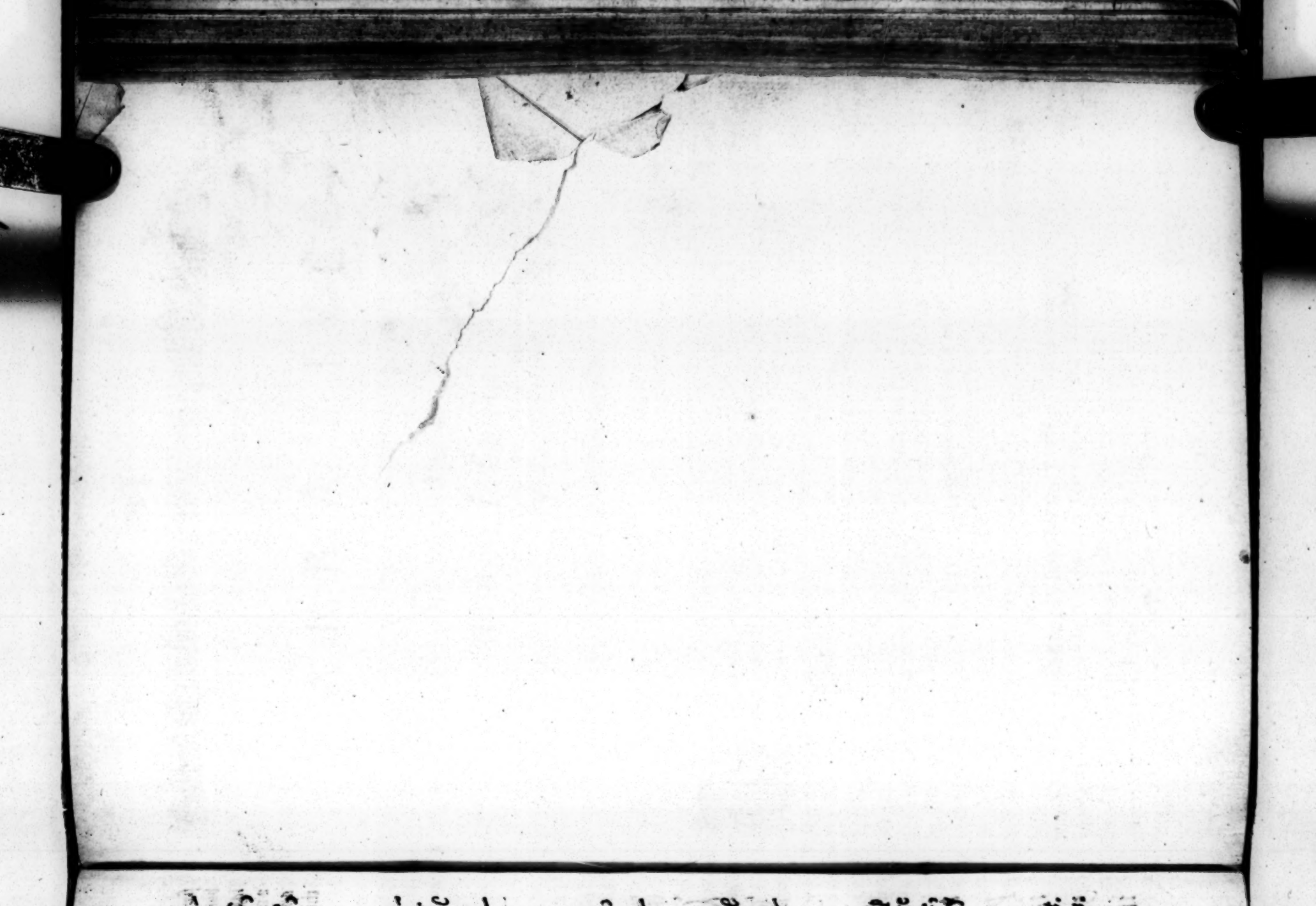
For the *true performance* of the premiſes of the *ſaid Sachem, Philip* of *Paukamakett*, do hereby bind my ſelf, and ſuch of my *Councel*, as are preſent, our ſelves, our Heirs, our Succeſſors, faithfully, and to promiſe, in Witneſs thereof, we have hereunto ſubſcribed our hands; the Day and Year above Written;

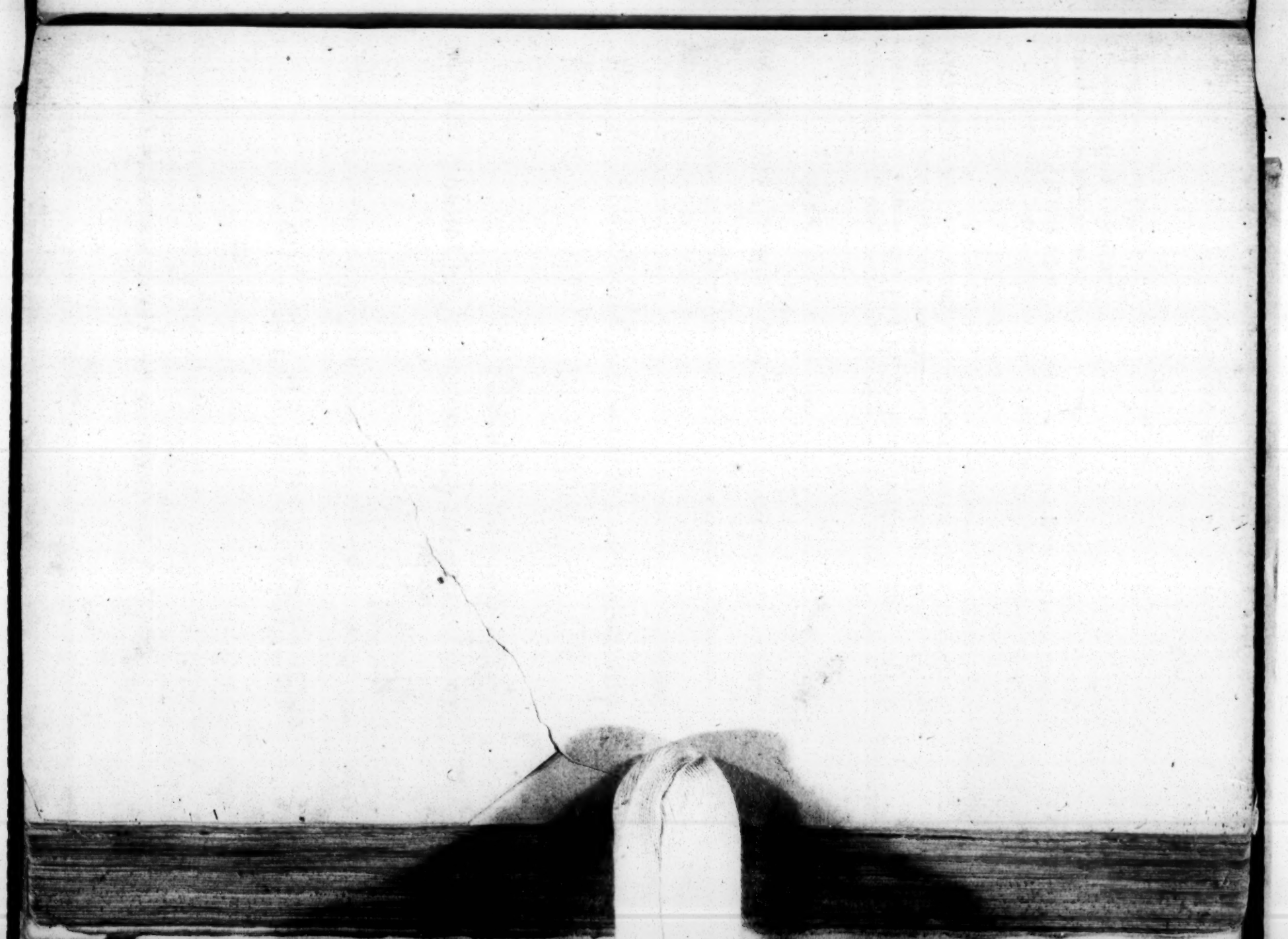
In the Preſence of the Court and divers of the Magiſtrates & other Gentlemen of the Maſſachuſets; & Connecticut.

The mark P of Philip.
the Sachem of Paukamakett.
The mark [of Uncompaen.
The mark [of Woiokom.
The mark 7 of Samkama.

FINIS.

Soli Deo gloria.





JOHN CARTER BROWN

A

NARRATIVE

OF THE

TROUBLES

With the Indians in

NEW-ENGLAND,

From *Pascataqua* to *Pemmaquid.*

THE Occasion, Rise and Progress of the Warr with the *Indians* in the *Southern* and *Western parts of New-England*, together with the *Issue, and Success* thereof, hath in the former part of this *Narrative*, been already declared. Before an Entrance be made into a Relation of those Troubles that befell the *Eastern and Northern parts* of the said Country from the *Indians* inhabiting those parts; it will be requisite to give some general Description of the place, as being less frequented, and so more unknown then the other, like *Heraulds* that use to *Blazon the Field* before they meddle with the *Charge*, as an *Historian* once said, That so the Reader may not miss the Truth in *Story*, by being unacquainted with the places whereon the discourse proceedeth; Briefly therefore, that more *cost and pains* be not spent in the *surveying a barren, and Rocky Country*, then will *quit cost*; The *List* or *Border* here being known to be more worth then the *whole Cloth*; That whole *Tract of Land*, being of little worth, unless it were for the *Borders thereof* upon the *Sea-Coast*, and some *Spots and Skirts* of more desireable Land upon the *Banks of some Rivers*, how much soever it be valued by them that know nothing thereof, but by the uncertain and fallible Reports of such as have only

Sayled by the Country, or viewed ſome of the Rivers and Havens, but never paſſed through the heart of the *Continent*. The whole being ſcarce worth half thoſe mens lives, that have been loſt theſe two laſt years, in hope to ſave it.

This *North part* of *New England*, did firſt like *Zurah* put forth its hand, thereby inviting the *Adventurers* to twiſt the *Scarlet Thred* of their hopes about the ſame, by that *Auſpicious beginning* they were ready to promiſe themſelves great proſperity in having that Advantage before others, to plant and people that part of the Country.

But that fair opportunity was almoſt quite loſt, by ſome *Fatal*, and *miſchievous Accidents*, happening ſoon after that *noble Enterprize* was firſt ſet a foot, as hath been already in part, and may hereafter more fully be declared.

The firſt place that ever was poſſeſſed by the *Engliſh*, in hope of making a *Plantation* in thoſe parts was a *Tract of Land*, on the *weſt-ſide* of the River of *Kennibeck*, then called *Sagatawocke*, ſince *Saga-dehocke*: other places adjoyning were ſoon after ſeized, and improved for Trading and fiſhing. The more remote, & furtheſt *Northward* at this time belonging to the *Engliſh* (*Penobſot* forty years ſince being ſurprized by the *French*, and by them held to this day) is called *Pemmaquid*, diſtant *ſeven* or *eight Leagues* from *Kennibeck*, and is the *utmoſt Boundary* of *New-England*, being about *forty Leagues* diſtant from the mouth of *Paſcataqua River*. That *Pemmaquid* is a very *Commodious Haven* for Ships, and hath been found very Advantagious to ſuch as uſe to come upon theſe *Coaſts* to make *fiſhing Voyages*; *South Weſt*, or *South Eaſt*, from whence about *ſix* or *ſeven Leagues* lies an *Iſland* called *Monhiggon*, of much uſe on the ſame account for fiſhing, it lying *three* or *four Leagues* into the Sea from *Damarils Cove*, (a place of like Advantage for the *Stages* of *Fiſhermen* in former times) There have been for a long time ſeven or eight conſiderable dwellings about *Pemmaquid*, which is well accommodated with Paſture Land about the *Haven* for *feeding Cattle*, and ſome Fields alſo for *Tillage*; All the Land improvable for *ſuch uſes* being already taken up, by ſuch a number of Inhabitants as is already mentioned.

In the mouth of the River of *Kennibeck* lies a conſiderable *Iſland* called *Arowſick*, ſome years ſince purchaſed by *Major Clarke* and *Capt. Lake* two Merchants of *Boſton*; on which they built ſeveral large dwellings with a *Ware-houſe*, and many other *Edifices* near the water ſide, being intended by the Owners for a place of Trading, as well as planting;

Planting; there being many of late ſeated there, fit to carry on each deſigne, where alſo was *built a fort*, which if it had been *carefully defended*, might have proved the defence, and Security of all that ſide of the Country, as it uſed to be their *Magazine*, up higher beyond the River of *Kennibeck*, four Leagues *Eaſtward* toward *Pemmaquid*, in another conſiderable *River* called *Ships-Coat*, upon the Banks of which were many ſcattered Planters, who lately flying from their dwellings for fear of the *Indians*, left as was judged, a *thouſand* head of *neat Cattle* for the uſe of the *Indians*, that made the late Inſurrection againſt the Inhabitants of thoſe parts, beſides their *Fields* and *Barns* full of *Corn*

There is another *River* that iſſues into *Kennibeck*, a little higher up into the Country called *Pegypscot*, that comes down from behind *Caſco Bay*. This *Pegypscot* is the ſeat of the *Amoscogging* Indians, who have had a great, if not the principal hand in the late miſchiefs.

Some few Leagues to the *South* of *Kennibeck* lies that famous and ſpacious *Haven* called *Caſco Bay*, The *North Eaſt Cape* of which is made by an *Iſland* called *Saguin*; The *Southern* or *oppoſite point of Land* is called *Cape Elizabeth*, which is in the Boſome of this *Bay*, being about eight or nine *Leagues* over at the mouth of it, and aboundance of ſmall *Iſlands*, many of them being inhabited by *Fiſhermen*, and others; one of the principal of that ſort, is called *Jewels Iſland*. There are many places about this *Bay* fit to make *commodious habitations*; and on the *South ſide* of it is a ſmall *Village* called *Falmouth*; All, or moſt of it, *lately deſtroyed by the Indians*.

Not far from *Caſco* to the *Southward*, or *South-weſt*, ſtill is a *River* called *Spurnuik*, over againſt which lies *Richmond Iſland*, not far from the main Land, being divided therefrom by a *ſmall Channel* foordable at *Low water*; It hath for a long time been the Seat of *Mr. Jordan*, in right of *Mr. Winter*, the former, if not the firſt promoter thereof whoſe daughter he married.

The next Plantation *Southward* is called *Scarborough*, a ſmall *Village* ſeated upon *black point*, over againſt which is another point, for diſtinction from the former called *blue point*: This *black point* was lately the Seat of *M. Joſſelin*, being a parcel of the *Province of Maine*, or falling within the *Precincts* thereof, and was formerly by *Patent* granted to the ſaid *Joſſelin* or his *Predeceſſors*, ſince purchaſed by *Mr. Scotto* of *Boſton*.

Saco River lies next in order to *Paſcataqua*, a *Navigable River*; where *Major Philips* had a commodious Scituation lately; at the mouth of which River lies *winter Harbour*, encompaſſed on one ſide

by a Neck of Land, formerly the Propriety of one *Mr. Winter* whose Name it ſtill retains, but lately purchaſed by *Major Pendleton*, where he enjoyed a very comfortable Seat and habitation.

There is another *Harbour* lying a little *Southward* of *Saco* made by that which is called *Cape Porpuiſe*; a convenient Seat for *Fiſhermen*, as are moſt of the other places above named. Between *Cape Porpuiſe* & *Paſcataqua* there are but two ſmall Towns more, (though ambitious of great Names) the one called *Wells*, the other *Yorke*, *Wells* is ſeated upon a ſmall *River* or *Creek* affording a ſmall *Harbour* fit only for *Barkes* & *ſmaller Veſſels*; on each ſide of which Town lies a ſmall River, the firſt called *Kennebunk*, the ſecond *Maguncuck*: the other Town is called *York*, formerly known by the Name of *Agamenticus*, from an high *Hill* of that Name not far off therefrom. The point of Land which lies between the ſaid Towns, is called *Cape Nidduck*, making a *ſmall Harbour* likewiſe, into which iſſues another *pretty River*, on the *Banks* of which is Scituate the Town of *Yorke*. All or moſt of the forementioned *Towns* and *Plantations* are ſeated upon and *neer*, ſome River greater or leſſer, whoſe ſtreams are principally improved for driving of *Saw-Mills*; Thoſe late Inventions, ſo uſeful for deſtruction of *Wood* and *Timber*, ſpecially of *Firre Trees*, which do ſo abound in thoſe *Coaſts*; that there is ſcarce a *River or Creeke* in thoſe parts that hath not ſome of thoſe *Engines* erected upon them.

The upper Branches of the famous River of *Paſcataqua*, being alſo imployed all of them that way, namely, *Sturgeon Creeke*, *Salmon Falls*, *Newechewannick*, *Quechecho*, *Oyſter River*, *Swamſcot*, *Greenland*, *Lamprey-Eele River*, together with the Towns of *Exeter*, and *Dover*, ſeated upon, or near ſome of the main Branches thereof, whoſe principal Trade is in *Deale Boards*, cut by thoſe *Saw-Mills*, ſince their *Riſt Timber* is *near all conſumed*. On each ſide of that brave *Navigable River* of *Paſcataqua* down *towards the mouth of it*, are ſeated on the *North ſide* the Town of *Kittary* (a long ſcattering Plantation made up of *ſeveral Hamlets*) on the South ſide the Town of *Portſmouth*, to which belongs the *great Iſland*, lying in the mouth of the ſaid *River*, a place of conſiderable Trade, theſe late years, the which together with *Strawberry Bank*, the upper part of the ſaid Town of *Portſmouth*, are the *Magazine*, and chief, or only place of *Commerce* & *Trade* for all the Plantations, betwixt it, and *Caſco Bay*; All the ſaid Plantations have in theſe laſt two years, *viz.* 1675. 1676. felt more or leſs of the *Rage and Cruelty* of the *Barbarous* and *perfidious Indians* belonging to that ſide of the Country, As ſhall more particularly be declared in what

follows,

follows, after a ſhort diſcourſe of the firſt planting that ſide of the Country which may ſerve as a kind of *Prologue* to the following *Tragedy*.

This part of *New-England* began firſt to be planted about the ſame time with *Virginia*, *viz.* in the year 1606. There the firſt *Letters Patents* granted by the King for the Limitation of *Virginia*, did extend from 34 to 44 Degrees of *North Latitude*, and was divided into two parts, namely the firſt, and the ſecond *Colony*; The former was appropriated to the City of *London*, The other, to the Cities of *Briſtol*, *Exeter*, and Town of *Plimouth*, each of which had *Laws*, *Priviledges*, and *Authority* for the Government, and advancing their ſeveral Plantations alike, As ſaith, *Capt. Smith* in his general Hiſtory of *Virginia*, and *New-England*. This ſecond *Colony* of *New-England* promiſing but little Advantage to the *Undertakers*, by reaſon of its *Mountainous* and *Rocky Scituation*, found but few *Adventurers* forward to promote the planting thereof, after the death of Sir *John Popham*, who was the firſt that ever procured men, or meant to poſſeſs it; for when the main Pillars are removed, what can be expected but that the whole building ſhould fall to the ground. Yet, notwithſtanding the diſcouragements the firſt *Planters* met withal in their firſt *Winter ſeaſoning*, in that *cold* and *rocky deſert* (which made them all return home in the year 1608) did Sir *Francis Popham* his Son, having the Ships and Proviſion which remained of the Company, and ſupplying what was neceſſary for his purpoſe, ſend divers times to the *Coaſts* for *Trade* and *Fiſhing*, of whoſe loſs or gain, as ſaith my *Author*, himſelf was beſt able to give account. And ſome of the Ships ſent by him, and the *Earl* of *Southhampton*, with other *Noble Adventurers*, did bring home ſome of the Natives of the place in one of the next following years, by whoſe Informations, ſome of the firſt *Undertakers* were encouraged once more to try the verity of their hopes, and ſee if poſſibly they might finde ſomething that could enduce a freſh *Reſolution* to proſecute ſo *pious* and *Honourable* a work.

But in the mean time before there was yet any Speech, or endeavour to ſettle any other Plantation in thoſe parts, That about *Saga dahock* being thus abandoned for the preſent by the firſt *Undertakers*, The *Frenchmen* immediately took the opportunity to ſettle themſelves within our *Limits*, which being underſtood by thoſe of *Virginia*, they diſcreetly taking into their conſideration the inconveniences that might ariſe by ſuffering them to harbour there, Sir *Samuel Argal* was ſent with Commiſſion to diſplace them, which he with *great diſcretion*, *dexterity*,

verity and *Judgement* performed about the year 1613. The which made way for the Plantation at *Nova Scotia*, granted afterwards by *King James* to *Sir William Alexander* one of his *Majesties most Honourable Council of* Scotland. The ſaid *Argal* ſeized the *Forts* which the *Frenchmen* had built at *Mount Manſel*, St. *Croix*, and *Port Royal*, and carried away their *Ordnance*, with other *Proviſions* to the *Colony* of *Virginia*, to their great Benefit. The ſaid places were held by the *Engliſh* divers years after, till about the *year 1635.* by Commiſſion from the *Scotch Lord* aforeſaid, but how his right came afterwards to be *alienated* to any of the *French* Nation, doth not concern us with Reference to the buſineſs in hand, further to enquire.

Things remaining in this poſture for the ſpace of near *ſeven years*, ſome of the firſt Adventurers apprehenſive of better hopes of good that might enſue by a freſh Attempt, Reſolved to ſet the deſigne a foot a *ſecond time*, to which End ſeveral Ships were ſent on that account in the *year 1615.* but with as bad Succeſs as the former; for in the year before, *viz. 1614. Capt. Smith* deſirous to promote the *Colony* of *New-England*, as well as that of *Virginia* came thither with *two Veſſels*, and returned back to *England* in the leſſer of them, with intent to be there again that next year, to promote the ſaid Plantation; But after he was gone, one *Thomas Hunt* maſter of the Ship, he left behind, like a *wicked Varlot*, to prevent the carrying on the Plantation, that he & a few *Merchants* might wholly enjoy the benefit of the *Trade* of the *Country*, after he had made his *Voyage*, ſeized upon *four & twenty* of the *poor Innocent Natives*, that in confidence of his honeſty, had put themſelves into his hands, then *clapping them under Hatches*, carryed them away to *Malego*, whither he was *bound* with the fiſh he had made upon the *Coaſt*, for that *Market*: But this *vile act*, although it kept him for ever after from any more imployment in thoſe parts, yet that was the leaſt part of the miſchief that attended his *wicked practice*; for upon the *arrival* of the *Adventurers* Ships the *next yeare*; Two Natives of the place that had been ſome years in *England*, and coming back unto the ſaid Ships, as ſoon as they underſtood the iniury ſo *Treacherouſly done* to their *Country men*, they contracted ſuch an hatred againſt our whole Nation, that although one of the ſaid Natives dyed ſoon after, yet the other called *Epenow*, ſtudied how to be Revenged, which he ſo far found means to Effect, that he *fruſtrated this ſecond Attempt* of ſetling a Plantation in theſe parts.

Yet did not the Adventurers caſt off all hope of carrying on their deſigne, wherein Providence within a few years after ſo *favoured them*, that

that one or more of the Salvages called *Tiſquamtum and Samoſet*, carryed away by *Hunt*, was brought back to *New-found Land*, from whence he was ſoon after conveyed by the prudent endeavour of *Capt. Maſon* (then Governour of the Plantation begun upon *New-found Land*) into the hands of ſome of the *Adventurers* by whoſe means they hoped to *work a peace* betwixt the ſaid Natives on that *Coaſt* where the *fire had been kindled before*; for the *Adventurers* imployed *Capt. Thomas Darmer*, a *prudent* and *induſtrious Gentleman* to ſettle the affairs of the Plantation, now a third time revived again about *Kennibeck*, in the *year 1619*, or thereabouts. By his prudence and care a laſting peace was made betwixt the Natives of the place, and the Engliſh, who were but a little before ſo abhorred by them, for the wrong formerly received, ſo as the Plantation began at laſt to *proſper*, and *continue in good liking*, and *Aſſurance* of the *Friendſhip* of their Neighbours, that had been lately ſo exaſperated againſt them. This *Tiſquantum* forementioned, was not a little Inſtrumental, and helpful to the Plantation begun at *New Plimouth* about the following *year*, *viz. 1620.* in their weak beginnings, there being frequent mention of his Name, as alſo of one *Samoſet*, a Native of the ſame place, by the like Providence brought back to *Kennibeck*, and from thence with *Tiſquantum* came to the New-planters at *Patuxet*, or *Plimouth*, and brought them into acquaintance with *Maſſaſoit*, the great *Sachem* about thoſe parts; without whoſe Friendſhip that new Plantation would hardly have ſubſiſted long.

This Story premiſed is the more to be minded in this place, becauſe the Friendſhip upon the means and occaſions aforeſaid, confirmed betwixt the *Indians* in theſe *Eaſtern parts*, & the *Engliſh*, had continued *ſtedfaſt and Conſtant to this year*, when it was broken by *another Treacherous* and *wicked practice*, of a like nature, and parrallel to that of the foreſaid *Hunt*. As may more fully be declared afterwards.

Poſſibly the like ſacisfaction may prove the more probable means to procure a ſetled peace. But to return, whence this Digreſſion hath been made. Some years were ſpent to bring things to this Iſſue: The *Adventurers* were put to much care and pains before they could get their Patent *confirmed*, and *Renewed again*; many *Obſtructions* they met withal from ſome *Interlopers* that began to look into the *Trade* of this *Country*, and would *irregularly* have had a *ſhare therein*, or made it *common* to all *Traders*, to which End they *petitioned* to a *Parliament* then called, to bring about their Ends, but at the laſt it was ſetled firmly in the hands of ſundry Noble and worthy Patentees, *Lords*, *Knights*,

Knights, *Gentlemen*, and *Merchants*, commonly known by the Name of the *Councel of* Plimouth, who had the *abſolute power* under the *King*, for making all *Grants*, and *diſpoſing of all Lands* from the 40 *th.* to the 48 *th. Degrees of North Latitude*; All which was accompliſhed about the *year* 1621. Some printed Relations that ſpeak of theſe *Tranſactions*, write much of the flouriſhing ſtate, and hopeful proſperity of this Plantation, publiſhed about *forty or fifty years ſince*, yet did it never appear by what followed, that any *conſiderable Advantage* did ever accrue to the *firſt Undertakers* from this their New-Plantation of the *Eaſtern parts*, unleſs by the Trade of *Fiſh*, and *Furrs*, which latter continued not long; As for the *former*, The chief benefit redounded only to them that *managed* it by their own *particular Stocks*, and *perſonal Endeavours*: And if without offence it may be ſpoken, the multitude of Patents ſoon after granted to ſeveral *Gentlemen* of *Broken Fortunes*, have provided but places of an *Honourable Exile* or *Confinement*, whither many deſerving perſons of better Education then Fortune, were ſent to ſhift for themſelves in a *Forreign Land*, without being further Troubleſome to thoſe nearer home, on whom they had their *hopes and Dependance*; yet it muſt not be denyed but that ſome of the *Undertakers* were at vaſt Expences, caſting their *Bread upon theſe waters*, where none of their *Friends and Relations* have as yet had opportunity to find it. The Reaſon of which is not hard to give, in Reference to all thoſe Lands and Territories that lye to the Eaſtward of *Paſcataqua River*. One main Cauſe hath been the multiplicity of Grants and Patents for the dividing of the ſaid *Tract of Land*, for beſide the ſtrife that hath been occaſioned by the Intricacy and indiſtinctneſs of their Liberties and Bounds, (enough to have maintained a greater number of Lawyers, then ever were the Inhabitants) If the Grantees had been ſupplyed with monyes proportionable to their writts and Controverſies about their bounds and Jurisdictions, which ſometimes they have been ready to decide with their Swords, witneſs thoſe fatal Names impoſed on ſuch Accounts upon ſome places belonging to thoſe parts, as *Bloody point*, *Black and Blew point*, and every conſiderable *Parcel of Land* being by *Patent* granted to ſeveral particular perſons, hindred the *erecting of Town-ſhips* and *Villages*, which if it had been otherwiſe diſpoſed of, might have been full of *Towns*, and *well peopled*, and thereby the Inhabitants had been able to have *ſtood upon their Guard*, and *defended themſelves* againſt the *common Enemy*, whereas now they were but like *ſcopæ diſſolutæ*, or like his *Arrows* that being bound up in one bundle could not be broken by an ordinary Force, but being looſe, were eaſily *ſnapt aſunder*

aſunder, by any ſingle hand. Another Reaſon might be, the imploying of ſuch *Agents* & *Inſtruments* as either wanted *Skill or Fidelity* to manage what they were *betruſted with*, which made many of the *Adventurers* long ago complain, that (in ſtead of *Bills of Exchange* & other Returns which they expected) they received nothing but large *Inventoryes* of the wants of their ſeveral Plantations, and the Servants ſent over to improve them, which were all the Returns that many of them ever received for the large *Summs of mony* many diſburſed for the carrying on their affairs

A third Reaſon may be the ſeveral Changes of Government the Inhabitants have paſſed under, which have occaſioned not only much *vexation*, & *Expences* to ſuch as were upon the place; but much diſcouragement to ſeveral others, who by the *commodiouſneſs of the Soyle*, would willingly have choſen Station in thoſe parts, had they ſeen any hope of *aſetled Government*, ever like to have been obtained; which is not hard to *demonſtrate*, by giving a little touch as we paſs along, on the ſeveral *changes of Government*, the places forementioned have been *moulded into*, & the ſeveral *Proprietours* of, have claimed Intereſt in the Land. In the *year 1624*. A Patent was granted by the *Councel of Plimouth*, the grand *Proprietours*, to *Captain Maſon* for a large Tract of Land about *Paſcataqua*, but it not being diſtinctly bounded, himſelf, with *Sir Ferdinando Gorges* obtayned a joynt *Patent* in the *year 1629*. for the Land betwixt *Saga de Hock* Eaſt, & *Naum Keag* Weſt, but that alſo interferring with the Bounds ganted before that time to ſundry *Gentlemen* & *Merchants* that had obtained a *Patent* from the *South of Charles River* to the *Northward of Merrimack*; *Capt. Maſons* bounds were afterwards by Conſent, (as is ſaid) of his Agent or Agents, reduced to ſome Branches about *Paſcataqua River* (who yet could not agree with thoſe that acted in the Name of *Shrewsbury men*) but being wholly neglected by the *pretended Proprietour* or his *Succeſſours*, (till of late dayes) was by the deſire of the Inhabitants yielded up to the *Maſſachuſets Government*, near *twenty years* ſince.

In the *year 1630*. A Patent was granted by the ſaid *Councel of Plimouth* (ſigned by the *Earl of Warwick*, and *Sir Ferdinando Gorges*, and ſealed with the *common Seal* of the *Councel* aforeſaid) to *John Dy*, *Thomas Impe*, *Grace Harding*, and *John Roach* of *London*, for a large Tract of Land on the South of *Saga-de Hock* forty mile ſquare by the Sea ſide, and ſo up into the Country: *John Dy* afore ſaid, and his *Partners* took in another as Partner, and Aſſociate with them, *Mr. Richard Dummer* of *Newbury* in *New-England*, in the *year 1638*. to whom they delivered the *Oreginal Patent*, with an order from them and in their Name, to take up the Land deſcribed in the *Patent*, but,

he being denyed opportunity to Effect it, as alſo a Ship formerly ſent by the *Patentees* for that End, not accompliſhing their deſire, they not long after ſold all their Intereſt in the ſaid Patent, to one *Mr. Rigby* a *Lancaſhire* Gentleman, who made *Mr. Cleaves* his *Agent* to manage the buſineſs of his purchaſed Intereſt in the ſaid Patent; To whom Mr. *Dummer* was ordered to deliver the *Original Patent*, which accordingly he did: what trouble was occaſioned ſoon after between the ſaid *Mr. Cleaves* and Mr. *Vines* Agent for *Sir Ferdinando Gorges*, is well known to the Inhabitants of the place, and need not be here mentioned; nor yet how the ſaid *Mr. Rigby* came afterward to looſe his Intereſt (at leaſt with the Inhabitants) in the Patent.

In the *year 1632. Sir Ferdinando Gorges* not reſting in the joynt Patent obtained for himſelf, and *Capt. Maſon*, obtained a diſtinct Patent for himſelf, and got it confirmed by *King Charles* the firſt of *bleſſed* and *famous memory*, for all that large *Tract of Land* from *Saga-de-hock* to *Paſcataqua River*, and ſo about an *hundred miles* up into the Country, by the Name of the Province of *Maine*. What benefit and Improvement was ever made thereof by his *Agents*, or *Succeſſours*, is beſt known to themſelves; But for the Inhabitants, who upon one account or another had been induced, either by any *precedaneous grant* or liberty from himſelf, or his *Agents*, to take up any Land within the Bounds of the ſaid Province; They finding much inconvenience and trouble for want of an orderly and ſetled Government, did at the laſt petition the *general Court of the Maſſachuſets* to be taken under their Jurisdiction and Government (reſerving the Liberties and Priviledges of their former purchaſes and Grants, as to *Title*, *poſſeſſion* and *propriety* to themſelves) which was granted them, though not only, and altogether upon the grounds on which it was deſired by the Petitioners. Yet notwithſtanding all this, were not things ſetled either to the comfort or content of the Inhabitants: for ſometimes ſome demanded Right of Jurisdiction over them by virtue of *Sir Ferdinando's Patent*, ſometimes *Commiſſioners* imployed by his *Highneſs the Duke of York*, attempted to ſettle a Government amongſt the people, ſometimes they tryed what might be done by Agreement amongſt themſelves, but after their Returne for *England*, by one means or other, the Government relapſed again into the hands of the *Maſſachuſets*, although a *Superſedeas* thereunto ſeems to have been put by an order from his *Majeſty* this laſt year.

By theſe ſeveral *Viciſſitudes* and changes of Government, the flouriſhing of the ſaid Province hath been much *obſtructed*, which elſe might have been much *advanced*, and the Inhabitants been put into a Capacity

to

to have ſecured themſelves againſt the late *Barbarous Incurſions* of the *Indians*; and poſſibly thoſe *Exorbitancies* that many of the preſent Proprietours have run into, to the *juſt provocation* of the *Indians*, might thereby have been prevented, and ſo the miſchief alſo which hath enſued, might thereby have been *averted*: For a well ordered Government would never have ſuffered thoſe things that now were connived at, which if they had been timely lookt into by ſuch as had *abſolute* or *poſitive* and *unqueſtioned power of Rule* in their hands, would have been otherwiſe ordered, the preſent miſchief that is come upon thoſe places, might thereby have been, if not prevented, yet more eaſily redreſſed, then now is like to be.

As for the *Tract of Land* that lies *Eaſtward* beyond *Kennibeck*, betwixt that and *Pemmaquid*, it is ſaid to have belonged to one *Mr. Aldworth*, and his *Succeſſours*; who was Alderman of *Briſtol*, and one that had a Patent thereof, and imployed ſome as his Agents, that did ſometimes reſide upon the place; And was lately ſetled in ſome order of Government by his *Highneſs* the *Duke of Yorks Commiſſioners*, by whom alſo was an Agreement made betwixt the *Sagamores* of the Indians in thoſe parts, and the *Engliſh*, at a Court kept by their Appointment in *Kennibeck*, which if it had been obſerved, might in all probability have prevented in great meaſure the quarrel which is now fallen out betwixt the Engliſh and the ſaid Indians: For upon ſome Jealouſies of the Riſing of thoſe Indians about twelve or thirteen years ſince, it was agreed, that if any miſchief ſhould happen to be done by the Engliſh or Indians, one againſt another, though it were to the killing any perſon, neither ſide ſhould right themſelves, but complaint ſhould be made to the *Sagamores* if the Indians did the wrong, and to the *Court*, if it were done by the *Engliſh*; Both which did promiſe ſatisfaction ſhould be made, for the preventing any quarrel: The Names of the *Sachems*, as likewiſe of them that were in power at the Court, do ſtil remain upon *publick Record*. But matters of Government in thoſe parts being ſince *collapſed*; no Authority more then what was meerly *voluntary* and *perſwaſive* being owned. Things are now brought to that miſerable ſtate, which follows next to be declared.

Ever ſince the firſt ſetling of any Engliſh Plantation in thoſe parts about *Kennibeck* for the ſpace of above fifty years the Indians always carryed it fair, and held good *Correſpondence* with the *Engliſh*, until the News came of *Philips Rebellion*, and Riſing againſt the Inhabitants of *Plimouth Colony* in the End of *June 1675*. After which time, it was apprehended by ſuch as had the Examination of the Indians about *Kennibeck*,

nibeck. That there was a general ſurmiſe amongſt them, that they ſhould be required to aſſiſt the ſaid *Philip*, although they would not owne, that they were at all engaged in the Quarrel. The like Jealouſie did appear in all the Indians that inhabited to the *Eaſtward of Paſcataqua*, which plainly ſhews that there was a deſigne of a general Riſing of the Indians againſt the Engliſh, all over the Country, (poſſibly as farr as *Virginia*, the Indians there making Inſurrection the ſame year,) & that many if not moſt of them were willing it ſhould ſucceed, although the *Elder & wiſer* of them liked it not, fearing the Iſſue, as they had cauſe: But many of the young men about *Caſco Bay*, and *Amonoſcoggan* were certainly known to flock thither the laſt year, and did, ſundry of them, come ſhort home. Forherein they acted but like Salvages, as thoſe in *Virginia* did, *fifty year* before, ſhewing themſelves friendly and Courteous to their new neighbours, till they had an opportunity to do them miſchief. So that notwithſtanding many of the Inhabitants in the *Eaſtern*, as well as in the *Weſtern parts of the Country*, that were wont to Trade with the *Indians*, were not willing to believe any ſuch purpoſe amongſt them, but were ready to think, ſome of the *Ruder ſort* of the *Engliſh*, by their *imprudent & irregular actings*, had driven them into this *Rebellion*; yet is it too too evident, that the ſaid *Indians* (who naturally delight in *bloody & deceitful actions*) did lay hold of any opportunity that might ſerve for a pretence to be put upon their *barbarous practices*. The *Indians* about *Wammeſet* & *Paſcataqua*, that had joyned with their Country men in their *riſing* againſt the *Engliſh* the laſt winter, when they were pinched with *hunger* in the *cold Winter* following returned back to the Engliſh, & deſired to *make peace*, & *firmly engaged* to continue their *wonted Friendſhip*; yea, ſome of them, as if they were really ſorry for their *murthers*, & *Cruelty*, of their own voluntary motion came with the Priſoners they had taken, & reſigned them up to the *Engliſh*; yet when their own Ends were Anſwered, & another opportunity was offered of doing *further miſchief of like nature*: they preſently returned to their former practice, as is well known of *Simond* & *Andrew*, that had killed ſome, & led others Captive in the *laſt ſpring* from *Bradford* & *Haverhill*, who came in the End of *June* to *Major Walderns*, bringing home Engliſh Priſoners with them, yet did the very ſame Indians within leſs then two Months after joyne with the *Amonoſcoggan* & *Kennibeck* Indians, in a committing the *ſad tragedies* that were laſt acted in thoſe parts; Yet was he & the other *his Partner* ſuffered to eſcape, for want of ſufficient guarding the Priſon, where they were put in order to further Tryal. But *ſeró ſapiunt Phryges*; It is hoped that we ſhall after ſome few more *Experiences of this nature*, learn to beware of

this

this *subtle Brood*, and *Generation of Vipers*, ever *since Enmity was put between the Seed of the woman & the Seed of the Serpent*; It hath been the portion of her Seed in every Generation, & in every Nation to meet with the sad Effects of that *Enmity*; Nor can they ever expect to finde better *dealing* from any of the other sort, further then either *fear of their power*, or *hope of benefit* by *their favour*, may *induce* them to *another disposition*, as we the Inhabitants of *New-England* have found by this late, & sad Experience in Reference to these *Pagans* in the *West* amongst whom our Lot is cast, they proving, as one says of the *Mahometans* in the *East*, like a *nest of Hornets*, that if any one of them chance to be provoked, they will be *all about his Ears* that comes near them. But it is now time to begin with the particulars of the *Tragedy* it self, that the Reader account not the *Prologue* too long. It was on the 24*th*. of *June* 1675. when the first mischief was done by the *Indians* about *Mount-Hope*, before *twenty dayes* were over, the fire began to kindle in these the *most remote* & most *Northerly bounds* of the said Country, or *two hundred & fifty* miles distance, & upon this occasion; *July the* 11*th*. 1675. A Letter was brought to *Kennibeck* from one *Henry Sawyer* an Inhabitant of *Yorke*, signifying the *news of the Indians rising* about *Plimouth*, & that a course was taken to *disarm the Indians* along the shore. This rumour did so far *awaken the Inhabitants* of those parts that the very next day at a *general meeting* of the *English* at one *Capt. Pattishals house*, several offered themselves as *Voluntiers*, to go up the said River of *Kennibeck*, to make discovery of the *Indians Fidelity*, or else to fight them, if occasion were. The third day after, marching up the River to *Quegeseck*, they met with the Inhabitants of *Ships Cot River*; which is a River lying about twelve or fourteen miles to the *North East of Kennibeck*. Divers of the Indians thereabouts, by the perswasions of one *Mr. Walker*, that used to trade with them, brought down an *inconsiderable part of their Amunition*, as a few *Guns*, a little *Powder* & *Shot*, with a few *knives*: About seven of the *Kennibeck Indians*, & five of those called *Ammoscogging Indians*, about *Pegypscot*, (a river more *Southward* toward *Casco*) made this shew of bringing in their Arms. *Capt. Lake*, *Capt. Pattishal*, with *Mr. Wiswal*, in whose hands was setled a kind of *military power* for those *parts*, were sent for to examine the said *Indians* further, of whom upon Examination they saw Reason to *suspect* some, if not all; whereupon they sent Messengers the second time to the *Ammoscogging Indians*; & also a Letter to *Mr. Walker*, to send down *their Arms* and *Amunition* to them for their greater Security. After Mr. *Wiswal* was returned home, the five *Ammoscogging Indians* aforesaid brought in their *Guns*, but with no good intent probably; for an Indian called *Sowen*, having an Axe in his hand, struck at one *Hosea Malier* a *French man*, but was prevented

from doing him miſchief, however the ſaid Indian was preſently *bound* and put into a *Cellar*. Some of the *Engliſh* that uſed to Trade with thoſe Indians were ready to excuſe the Indian, ſaying he was *drunke*, or that he was a *diſtracted Fellow*, but Mr. *Wiswall* with the other two examinants, lookt upon thoſe as meer Excuſes, and altogether groundleſs, for one of them to this day affirms, that he was as *Rational and ſenſible* as any of the reſt.

The ancient Indians being asked what they thought was meet to be done in the ſaid Caſe, ſaid, he was *worthy to dye* for ſuch an *affront*, yet they would be glad if his life might be ſpared, offering to be *jointly bound* in his behalf, to pay *forty Beaver Skins* at the next *Fall-Voyage*, giving their hands in token of their *Fidelity*, and alſo leaving their Arms in the hands of the *Engliſh* as a Pledge of their *faithful keeping thoſe Articles of Peace* concluded on betwixt them. If they proved themſelves honeſt men, they were to have their Arms delivered them again, which was accordingly performed the laſt *June*, 1676. They having in the mean time carried themſelves peaceably toward the Engliſh. The day after, *viz. July 19.* 1675. An Indian of great note amongſt them, called *Robin hood* with great Applauſe of the reſt, made a *dance*, and *ſung a Song* to declare their content in what was transacted. And ſo they parted, ſetting the Indians at liberty, that had engaged thus for their friend *Sowen*, the Indian; but yet to this day *one Skin of Beaver* was never paid to the Engliſh, as was promiſed; The Indians all this time were well provided for of victuals by *Capt. Lake*, with other ſupplies of *Rhum* and *Tobacco*, even to the *diſguſting* of ſome Engliſh then preſent.

But the Indians left as *Hoſtages* upon *Sowens* account, how Civilly ſoever they were treated, ran all away at the laſt, truſting more to the *Celerity of their own feet*, then to the *Civility of their Engliſh Friends*; who after they were eſcaped, joyned with a parcel of their Fellows ſoon after about twenty in all, in *robbing the houſe* of one Mr. *Purchaſe* an antient Planter about *Pegypscot River*, and a known Trader with the Indians, what ever wrong may be pretended by the ſaid Indians, as done them in *their Trading*, (of which more may be ſpoken afterwards) that will no whit excuſe their *perfidious Treachery*, and *falſhood* in *breaking Covenant* with the Engliſh, diſſembling, and ſeeking all Advantages of Cruelty againſt their Engliſh Neighbours, of which in the following *Winter* and *Summer*, 1676. there will be a more full and undenyable diſcovery. This was done in the beginning of *September*, 1675. Thoſe Indians that firſt aſſaulted Mr. *Purchaſe his houſe*, did no other miſchief,

ſave

ſave *plundering it of ſtrong Liquor*, and *Amunition*, alſo killing a Calf or two, with a few Sheep, but no more then what they eat, and ſpoyling a *Feather bed* by ripping it open, to turn out the Feathers, contenting themſelves with the Caſe, which they might more eaſily carry away. They offered no incivility to the *Miſtreſs of the houſe*, (her husband, and her Sons, being at that time *from home*) yet one of her Sons approaching near the houſe, and finding it poſſeſſed of thoſe new Inhabitants, he rode away with all ſpeed, and yet no faſter then there was need; for an Indian followed him with a *Gun under his Coat*, to have *ſhot at him*, if he cou'd by his *flattery*, and *diſſembling*, have got him within the reach of his *Piece*.

It is ſaid, that at the firſt they uſed fair words, and ſpake of Trading, but as they went away, told thoſe of the houſe, that there were others coming after that would deal far worſe with them, which within a ſhort time after came to paſs, for theſe were but the *meſſengers of Death*, which was ſoon after inflicted, and that in a *moſt Barbarous manner* upon ſundry Inhabitants of the *Neighbouring Plantations*.

The Engliſh in thoſe parts being much incenſed hereat, Twenty five of them ſoon after going up *Caſco Bay* in a *Sloop and two Boats* to gather *Indian Corn*, and to look to what they had upon the ſaid *Bay* neer *Amocoſcoggen River*; when they came near the houſes, they heard a *knocking*, and a *noiſe about the houſes*, and preſently eſpyed *two or three Indians*, who did not yet ſee them: The Engliſh being come a good way from their Veſſel, endeavoured to get between the Indians, and the woods, which when they perceived, they ran toward the *water ſide*, but the Engliſh in purſuit killed one of them, and wounded another, who yet eſcaped away in a *Canow* croſs *the River*, a third running back toward the woods, fled to the other *Indians*, and acquainted them with what was done, who preſently came down, and lay in wait to *intercept the* Engliſh, that thought of no danger, but ſcattered themſelves all about the place to *gather their Corn*, and lade the *Boats therewith*, but before they were ready to go away, The *Indians* coming down, *fired upon them*, and forced them all into the Sloop; had not ſome of them been better prepared then the reſt, they might all have *been cut off*; for ſome little reſiſtance being made by them that were *ready with their Guns*, it gave the reſt an opportunity to get all into the Sloop; yet not without *many wounds*: So with much ado, they all *eſcaped* with their *lives*, leaving the *two Boats* almoſt *laden with Corn* for a *prey to the Indians*, who preſently *burned one*, and *plundred the other* of all that was therein; ſome are ready to think that the Engliſh did

did imprudently to *begin the Quarrel*, and not firſt enquire into what the Indians were *about in the houſe*, and ſeek *Redreſs* according to the *forementioned Agreement*, made at the Court in *Kennibeck*. But if this hapned after what follows next to be related *viz.* that which was done to *Old Waterly*, and his *Family*; (the *Engliſh* can be blamed for nothing, but their *negligence* & *Security*, in that having *alarmed* their enemies, they ſtood not better upon their guard), which is not very certain. For 'tis thought that within a few dayes after, or the next week more *horrible outrage* was committed upon the Family of an *ancient man*, whoſe Name was *Waterly*, an Inhabitant of *Caſco Bay*, who had ſome years before removed from *Glouceſter*, or *Cape Anne* out of ſome diſcontent, which afterwards he often bewailed, reſolving either to have *returned back*, or elſe to have *removed* to ſome *ſecurer place*, but he was *arreſted* by the *Sons of violence*, before he could Effect his purpoſe. This *old man* with his *wife*, his *Son*, and his *daughter in Law* (at that time great with Child) with *three grand Children* were *cruelly murdered* by thoſe *barbarous Salvages*, at one time: another of his *grand Children* was taken alive, and *led into Captivity*, a *daughter* of his was ſaid to be carryed to *Narhaganſet*, which ſhews they joyned with the *Southern Indians* in the *Rebellion*; when once theſe Indians had *embrued their hands in Engliſh blood*, they were *emboldened* to the like *bloody Attempts* in the *Adjacent places*.

This *Waterly* lived ſo far from *Neighbours*, or elſe was encompaſſed with *Creeks or Rivers*, that no Relief could preſently be ſent to him, however *Lieut. Ingerſon* of *Caſco* the next day with a *File of men*, repaired to the place where his houſe ſtood, to ſee what was the Reaſon of the *Fire* they *diſcerned* the day before, there they found the *houſe burned to aſhes*, the *bodies* of the old man and his wife *half conſumed* with the *fire*, the young woman *killed*, and *three of the grand Children*, having their *brains daſhed out*, and their bodies were laid under ſome *Oaken Planks*, not farr from the houſe; *one girle* of about *eleven years old*, was carried *Captive* by them, and having been carried up and down the Country ſome *hundreds of miles*, as far as *Narhaganſet Fort*, was this laſt *June* returned back to *Major Walderns*, by one *Squando* the *Sagamore* of *Saco*; A ſtrange *mixture* of *mercy* and *Cruelty*.

Soon after *Capt. Bonithon's* and *Major Philips* Dwellings were aſſaulted, one on the *Eaſt*, the other on the *Weſt ſide* of *Saco River*. It is ſaid, they had ſeaſonable notice of what was intended againſt them, by their *Barbarous Enemies*, Thoſe *Amonoſcoggan Indians*; *viz.* by an Indian of *Saco*, their Neighbour, better minded then the reſt of his

Country.

Country men: who obſerving a ſtrange Indian coming to his *Wigwam* in Company with ſome of his acquaintance, one of whom informed him, after the reſt, (with the ſtranger) were gone; That the ſaid ſtranger came from the *Weſtward*, and that his buſineſs was to perſwade the *Eaſtern Indians* to fall upon the Engliſh in their dwellings here, as the reſt had done to the *Weſtward*. *Captain Bonithon*, either upon this Information, or upon the knowledge of what was done a little before at *Caſco*, had left his houſe, and was retired over the River with his Family to *Major Philips his Garriſon*. Thus *two* are better then *one*: for otherwiſe, both might have been deſtroyed: For upon the 18*th*. of *September* following, being the 7*th*. day of the week, about *eleven a Clock*, they at *Major Philips* his Garriſon ſaw *Capt. Bonithon's* houſe on fire on the *Eaſt ſide* of *Saco River*, which by the good Providence of God was to them as the *firing of a Beacon*, giving them notice to *look to themſelves*, their Enemies being now come; for otherwiſe, they might to their great diſadvantage have been too ſuddenly ſurprized, for within *half an hour after*, they were upon them, when a *Sentinel* placed in the *Chamber* gave notice that he ſaw an Indian by the *Fence ſide*, near a *Corn Field*, *Major Philips* not willing to believe till he might ſee with his own Eyes, ran haſtily up; another of his men, coming after, cryed *Mr. what mean you?* do you intend to be kill'd, at which words, he turned ſuddenly back from the *window*, out of which he was looking, when preſently a *Bullet* ſtruck him on the *ſhoulder*, grazing only, upon it without *breaking the bone*. The Indians upon the ſhot, thinking he had *been ſlain thereby*, (as they heard afterwards) gave a *great ſhout*, upon which they diſcerned that they were *ſurrounded* by them, whereupon they preſently *fired on the Enemy* from all *Quarters*, and from the *Flankers of the Fortification*, ſo as they wounded the *Captain* of the *Indians*, who preſently leaving the Aſſault retired *three or four miles* from the place, where he ſoon after dyed, as they were informed: He counſelled them to *leave the ſiege*, but they were reſolved not ſo to *quit the place*; nor were thoſe within leſs reſolute to *defend it*: one of the beſt men was ſoon after *diſabled* from any *further Service*, by a wound which he received in one of the *Volleys* made upon them by the *Aſſaylants*; But that no whit daunted the reſt of the *Defendants*, who continuing ſtill firing *amain* upon the Enemy: This *Diſpute* laſted about *an hour*, after which the Enemy *deſpairing to take the houſe by Aſſault*, thought upon a device how to *burn it*.

Firſt, *firing* the houſe of one of his *Tenants*, then his *Saw-Mill*, after that his *Corn Mill*, hoping by that means to draw them out of the Garriſon

Garriſon to put out the fire, but miſſing of their purpoſe in that, they called out, you *Engliſh Cowardly Dogs*, come out and *quench the Fire*: They continued this ſport all the *afternoon*, continually almoſt without any *Intermiſſion* firing upon them: The *beſieged* hoped for *Relief* from the Town, but *none came*, The *Major* ſtill encouraging his men to ſtand it out, which they *manfully did all that night*, when they were *alarmd* almoſt every *half hour*: and betwixt whiles they could hear their Axes and other Inſtruments, knocking about the Mills till the next day: They within the houſe conceived they were preparing ſome Engine wherewith to *burn the houſe*, which proved accordingly, for about 4 or 5 *a Clock in the morning* at the ſetting of the Moon, the *Major* was called by his men to look out, when he ſaw a *Cart with four Wheels*, having a *Barricado* built in the fore part, to keep off Shot, and filled with combuſtible matter, *birch rinds*, *ſtraw*, *powder*, *and Poles twenty Foot long*, apt to *fire the houſe*: he bid them let them drive it within *Piſtol ſhot*, before they made any ſhot againſt them; His men were a *little diſcouraged* at the ſight of this *Engine*: but he bid them, be of *good Courage*, and uſe the means, putting their *truſt in God*, who, he was *confident* would deliver them: The Cart, when brought a little neater, became *unweildy* by Reaſon of the *Barricado* planted in it, and being to paſs through a *ſmall gutter*, one *Wheel ſtuck faſt in the Slough*, which brought the Cart ſuddenly to the Left, whereby the *Drivers* lay all open to their *right Flanker*, when preſently they fired upon them out of the ſaid *Flanker*, and having ſo fair a ſhot upon them, and not being above *Piſtol ſhot* from the place, they killed *ſix of the Enemy*, and wounded *ſixteen*, as they found afterwards, which no doubt made them too late to repent of their Reſolution, not to follow their *Captains Counſel* and Example in leaving the Siege; for now they preſently departed: So as at Sun riſe, they within the houſe eſpyed *forty* of them *marching away*, but how many more were in the Company they could not tell.

The Indians it ſeemed went toward *Blue point*, where it is ſaid they killed *ſeveral perſons*: but thoſe in the houſe feared they went for more help, and expected their Return, but it ſeems their *Courage failed them*, as to another Attempt, upon an houſe ſo well *garriſoned*, and *manfully defended*. *Major Philips* ſent to the *Town* for help, acquainting them with what had paſſed, but none was ſent them, either *that day*, or the next, ſo as having ſpent almoſt all their *Amunition*, the people that were with him, would not be perſwaded to tarry longer, then the *Munday morning*: which conſtrained him and his Family to remove to the Town; about a *Fortnight* after, the Indians hearing thereof, came and

burnt

burnt down the *empty house*. There were *fifty persons* in the said house during the time of the Siege, and but *ten able hands*; they had *five more* that could do something, but *through age*, or *minority*, not able to make any *notable Resistance*; yet so it pleased God, in whose hands are all mens lives and limbs, and who is never wont to fail them, who in time of *danger* are ready so to *confide in his power*, and *goodness*, as not to neglect the use of due means for their own Preservation, so to order things, that not one person of all those *fifty*, was either *killed*, or *mortally wounded*. *Major Philips* himself was wounded, but not dangerously at the beginning of the Assault, his Mill's with other Edifices were the first day burned by the Enemy, & so were all the houses at *Saco*, or most of them soon after, that were above the *Fisher-mens stages*. One Mrs. *Hitcock* being carried Captive by the Enemy from the same place, *dyed in the Winter following*, by eating some poysonous Root, in stead of a ground nut, as was reported by the Indians afterwards.

Much about the same time, five persons going up to the River of *Saco*, were all killed by the same Indians.

These Tragedies being thus acted at *Casco Bay*, and *Saco*, those Barbarous Enemies dispersed themselves in parties, intending to do all the mischief they could to all the English, inhabiting about that side of the Country; In the same Month of *September* they came down towards *Pascataqua*, doing the like Spoyle upon the Inhabitants of the several Branches of that River, which they had been doing elsewhere; In the first place they burned the two *Cheslyes* houses about *Oyster River*, and killed two men that were passing along the River in a *Canoo*; and carried away an old Irish-man, with a young man taken from about *Exceter*, who yet both of them soon after made an escape to a Garrison at *Salmon-Falls* in *Kittary* by the help of an Indian better minded then the rest, the first after *seven weeks*, the other after a Months Captivity.

Much about that time, one Goodman *Robinson* of *Exceter* with his Son were travelling toward *Hampton*, where, as they passed along, they were *way-laid* by *three Indians*, *viz. John Samson*, *Cromwel*, and *John Linde*, who shot down the *old man*, whom they left *dead upon the place*; his Son, hearing the *Guns* escaped their hands, by running into a *Swamp*, whither the Indians pursued him, but could *not overtake* him, so as he got safe into *Hampton* about *midnight*, where he declared what *befel him* by the way, and how *narrowly* he *avoided the danger*, intimating likewise, that he feared his *Father was killed*, which was found too true, by *Lieut. Swet*, who the next day with a *dozen Souldiers* of the *Town*, went to search those *woods*, where they found the *poor old man*, shot

through at his *back*, the bullet having pierced through *his body*, and was ſtopped by the *skin on the other ſide*: Another of *Exceter*, called *Foulſam*, was at the ſame time *driving a pair of Oxen* in the ſame *Road*, where, ſoon after he heard the Report of the *Guns* when *Robinſon* was killed, he eſpyed the *three Indians creeping* upon their bellies *towards him*, to do as much for him as they had done for *Robinſon*, but leaving his *Oxen*, he put on his horſe with all ſpeed, and ſo was delivered from the danger that the other fell into, it is reported that one of the *Indians made a ſhot at him*; but he was either *gotten out of their reach*, or elſe they *miſſed their aim* at that time. The ſame Indians had a little before met with another *Engliſh man* in thoſe woods, one *Charles Randlet*, whom they *carryed Captive*, although he *ſoon after* eſcaped out of their *hands*, by the help of another *Indian* called *James*. It is ſaid there were *four Indians* of that Company, and that the *fourth* was ſent away with *Randlet*, ſo that there were but *three* ſeen together at the *killing*, and purſuing the other forementioned. One of the ſaid Indians, *viz. John Samſon* was killed by ſome of *Capt. Hathorns Souldiers* at *Caſco Bay* in *September* following 1676. when the Scouts of our forces came upon the *Indians on the ſudden*, and had a *ſmall bruſh* with them; but all the reſt made a ſhift to get away: As for the other two, *viz. Cromwel*, and *John Linde*; one of them, it is ſaid, is ſince killed, or taken and *ſold away*, the other is at *Kennibeck*, whom *vengeance* may alſo in due time *overtake*, as it hath done *the other*.

Within a few dayes after that *barbarous Fact* at *Oyſter River*, two Indians, *viz.* one named *Andrew*, and the other *Hope-hood*, the Son of him called *Robin Hood*, aſſaulted the houſe of one *Tozer* at *Newechewannick*, wherein were *fifteen perſons*, yet all *women and Children*, who without all doubt had all of them fallen into the *mercileſs hands* of the *two cruel and barbarous Caytiffes*, had not a young maid of about *Eighteen years of Age* firſt eſpyed them, who being endued with *more Courage* then *ordinarily* the reſt of her *Sex* uſe to be, (the bleſſing of *Jael light upon her*) firſt ſhut to the dore, whereby they were denyed Entrance, till the reſt within eſcaped to the next houſe, that was better Fortified; That *young Virago* kept the dore faſt againſt them ſo long till the Indians had *chopt it in pieces* with their *Hatchets*, when entring the houſe, they *knocked the poor maid* down with their *Hatchets*, and gave her many *other wounds*, leaving her *for dead* upon the place; after which, they paſſed on toward the next dwelling, in their way meeting with *two Children*, that had eſcaped the houſe firſt broken open by them, *they killed* one of them, of three years old, which could not follow faſt enough,

enough, or elſe they that carryed it, could not *convey it over a Fence* ſoon enough to *ſave themſelves* and it; And carryed away the other of *ſeven year old*, which yet was returned ſafe within *half a year* after: The *poor Maid* that had *ventured her own Life* ſo far, to ſave many others, was by a *ſtrange Providence* enabled to recover ſo much ſtrength after they were gone, as to repair to the *next Garriſon*, where ſhe was ſoon after *healed of her wounds*, and reſtored to *perfect health* again.

The next day toward night more of the *Barbarous Enemies* being *gathered together* they made *another Aſſault* upon the *neighbouring dwellings*.

The Engliſh, as many as could be ſpared out of the *Garriſon*, (not above *eight* in number) purſued after them about *half a mile*, but night coming on, it was judged beſt *to retreat*, leſt otherwiſe they might have been *Intercepted* in their return home, by any of them *lying in Ambuſh*, which is their uſual way of *doing miſchief*. After divers ſhot made on *both ſides*, but *five* of the Enemies appeared: who yet took the Advantage of *Captain Wincals* abſence, (whoſe dwelling was not far off) to *burne his houſe and Barne*, with another *houſe*, and *two Barns* more, wherein was much *Engliſh Corn*; above an *hundred Buſhels* was ſuppoſed to be in one of them. After they had done this miſchief they fled away.

The next day after, the ſame *Indians*, or others of their *Fellows*, came upon the other ſide of the River, from whence they *ſhot over ſeveral times*, to ſome that were *grinding in the Mill*, but after the exchanging of many *ſhot on both ſides of the River*, betwixt them, *ſix of the Enemy* ſhewed themſelves in the *Twilight*, uttering ſeveral *inſolent* and *barbarous Speeches* calling our men *Engliſh dogs*, &c. yet all this while out of reach of their *ſhot*, and then they ran all away *like dogs after they had done barking*.

After this, thoſe very Indians, as was ſuppoſed, burned *five or ſix houſes* about *Oyſter River*, and killed *two men, viz.* one *William Roberts* and his *Son in Law*. The Inhabitants of *Dover*, with ſome other *reſolute young men*, being much provoked by theſe many *Inſolencies*, and *injuries* done by the Enemies, obtained liberty from the *Major of the Regiment*, to try whether they could not meet with ſome of the Indians, by *ſecret Ambuſhes*, and *ſculking amongſt the Buſhes and Trees*, as the Indians uſed to do with them, to which End about *twenty* divided themſelves into *ſeveral ſmall parties*: ſoon after as they were looking after the Enemy, a party of ours *eſpyed five of the Indians*, ſome gathering

Corn in the Field while the reſt of them were buſied in *beating of an Oven* to bake ſome of the fruit which they gathered alſo in the ſame Field.

The Engliſh were at ſuch a diſtance that they could not make *any ſign* to their *Fellows*, without being diſcovered by the Indians in the Field; wherefore *two of them crept* as near as they could to *the houſe*, at one end of *the Field*, where they *ſuddenly ruſhed* upon *two of the wretches*, and *knocked them down* with the Butt end of their Muskets, which was not done ſo *ſilently*, but the other *three in the Field* took the *Alarm*, and fled away, who elſe might as eaſily have been *ſurprized* as the other two.

Theſe Outrages thus daily committed, *filled all the Plantations* about *Paſcataqua* with *fear* and *confuſion*; ſcarce any place, where there was not either *Reaſon for ſome to complain* of *the loſs of their Friends*, or *burning of their houſes*; which cauſed moſt of them that lived *ſcatteringly*, at any diſtance from *Neighbours*, either to *garriſon* their houſes, or elſe to *deſert their own dwellings*, and to *repair* to their next *Neighbours* that were *better fortified* then themſelves; But all the Inhabitants in thoſe parts in general, were Alarmed to ſtand upon their Guard.

On the *ſeventh* of *October* following, being a day of *publick Humiliation*, a man was *ſhot down* as he was riding between *two garriſon houſes* about *Newechewannick*, and *dyed of his wounds* within *two hours* after; About the ſame inſtant of time *two young men* were *ſhot dead* about a mile from that place; Theſe two had their Arms or Guns with them, which were carryed away by them that *killed them*, together with their *upper garments*; It is not ſaid that theſe three laſt, (though killed upon a *day of Humiliation*) were *ſurprized* in their *repairing* to, or *returning*, from the place of *publick worſhip*, which would in a great meaſure have abated the *ſorrow of their ſad Funerals*, if when they were *ſuddenly arreſted by the Harbingers of Death*, they had been found ſo doing.

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Salmon Falls October 16. 1675.

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Signed by, *Roger Plaiſted*,
George Broughton.

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To that end he ordered a pair of Oxen to be yoked to bring them to his Garriſon, in order to their Chriſtian buryal, not conſidering that the Indians lay ſculking thereabouts, waiting for ſuch opportunityes. They went firſt to the furtheſt place, where they found *Ro. Tozers body*, and put it into their Cart, but coming back to take up the other *two bo-*

This shot repeats the previous one, but with different lighting.

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dies, which were fallen in a little *Swampe* nearer to the Garriſon, they were ſet upon by an hundred and fifty of the Enemy, that had hid themſelves in the *buſhes*, and under a *ſtone wall*, and *Logs* in the way as they were to paſs; By the ſudden noyſe of the guns, the Cattle being *frighted* ran away to the garriſon with *ſuch of the dead*, as were firſt laid up thereon, (and poſſibly with one of them wounded at that inſtant) leaving their *Owners* to *fight it out* with their Enemies. *Lieut. Plaiſted* being thus *deſperately Aſſaulted*, he with his *twenty men*, was forced to *retreat* to a place of *better Advantage*; but being there ſo *hotly purſued*, they were not able to *abide it long*; Although they *killed* and *mortally wounded* ſeveral of the Indians, as themſelves have *ſince confeſſed*: but they moſt of them being ſo much *overmatched*, took the opportunity of a *fair Retreat*, and ſo got ſafe to their Garriſon, while *Lieut. Plaiſted* out of the *height of his Courage*, diſdaining either to fly from, or *yield himſelf* (for 'tis ſaid) the Indians were loth to *kill him*, but deſirous rather to take him *Priſoner*) into the hands of ſuch *curſed Caytiffes*, did *fight* it out *deſperately*, till he was *ſlain upon the place*, his *Eldeſt Son* and another man were ſlain in their too late Retreat, and his other *Son* was *ſorely wounded*, ſo that he dyed within a few *weeks after*.

The Indians were contented with this miſchief for the preſent (and indeed if all the *Engliſh* they had to deal with, had ſhewed the like Reſolution with this *Plaiſted* they would not have done *half the miſchief*, that ſince hath been done by them) and *ſlunke* away into the *woods* before the next day, when *Captain Froſt* came up from *Sturgeon Creek*, (a few miles below the River) with a party of his friends, and buryed the dead: During theſe *onſets*, the Enemy alſo *took their Advantage* to burne three houſes, and two barns before they left the place.

The latter End of the *ſame Month* they *burned a Mill* near the ſame place belonging to *Mr. Hutchinſon* a Merchant of *Boſton*; from whence they came down lower toward *Sturgeon Creek*, where they *burned* one houſe, and *killed* two *men*, not far from *Captain Froſt's* dwelling, he eſcaping himſelf very narrowly, being ſhot at by the Enemy, about *Ten in Number*, who might eaſily have *burned* his houſe, and taken all that were in it, being but three boyes beſides himſelf, had he not uſed this policy, to *call out* to ſome to march this, and the *other way*, to look after the Indians, as if he had had many at hand to Command, which under God was the means of his eſcape; for his houſe was neither Fortified, nor well manned, yet was far from Neighbours.

The *next day* the ſaid Indians paſſed down the River on *Kittary ſide*, *killed one man*, whoſe houſe they *firſt plundered*, and then ſet it on

on *fire*[s]; All this was done just over against *Portsmouth*, from whence out of a small *Battery* was discharged a *piece of Ordnance*, which by a *good Providence* was directed so to *fling its shot* as it fell very near *a party* of the Indians, for they were so *affrighted therewith*, (if none of them were killed) that they *left a good part* of their *plunder* near the place: They were *pursued* by some of the English, before they could recover *their home*, and by the help of the *Snow that fell about that time*, were traced till they were *overtaken*, but being near a *Swamp*, themselves escaped, for haste leaving *two* of their *Packs behind them*.

Soon after they went up the *River* again to *Quechecho*, where they *burned an house*, and *two or three Barns*. Another Party of them got over or beyond the other *branches* of *Pascataqua River*, toward *Exceter*, and *Lampny Eyle River*, where they *killed one man*: sundry of them were seen in the *woods* about *Exceter*; and between *Hampton* and *Exceter*, where they *killed one* or *two men* in the *woods* as they were travelling homewards, occasioning the people of those *Towns* to stand continually upon *their guard*, which proved a great *annoyance* to the Inhabitants.

But to look a little back to the *Plantations* more *Eastward* from *Pascataqua River*, where these outrages of the Indians first began.

At *Casco Bay Lieut. Ingersons* Son, with another man going out a fowling about this time, were *both killed* before they returned home, his *Fathers houses* being *burned*, with many others also thereabouts.

At *Black point*, *Lieut. Cammock* with *two more* were assaulted by the Indians, where after *many shot* exchanged betwixt them, himself was so wounded, that he *dyed soon after*, and his brother also was *killed* within a *few dayes afterwards*, not far from the same place.

When the rising of the Indians *first began* in those *Eastern parts*, (with us called the *County of Yorkshire*) *Captain Wincol* of *Newechewanniek*, with some others, having a *Sympathy* for the sufferings of the Neighbours, marched up that way with a small party of men; In his *first Skirmish* with the Enemy he *chanced to loose two or three of his Company*; the rest being not above *eleven in all*, as they were marching along by the *Sea side* were assaulted by a *great number* of the Indians, judged to be *an hundred and fifty*: he being *hard beset* with so great a number retreated to an *heap of Bolts* that lay near the *water side*, by the *shelter* of which they lay safe from the *Indians Guns*, and so well plyed their *few Guns*, that they slew many of their Enemies, and put them all to a kinde of *Route* at the last: After which by the help of an *old Canoo*, they recovered safe to the other side

of the Banke. But *nine Saco men* had worſe ſucceſs, who yet came with a very *good Intention* to help their friends, upon the hearing of their Guns; but as they came to Reſcue *Captain Wincol* with his ſmall party, they themſelves fell into an *Ambuſh* of the Indians, and ſo were *all cut off*, with *two other* men alſo, near the place where the *firſt Skirmiſh* was, for the Indians from the *ſhore ſide* could diſcern any that were coming towards them, when they were a *great way off*, and ſo might eaſily *way-lay* them, before they could come up to them. Near upon *ſeven houſes* were burned about this time, and ſome *perſons killed* at *Black point*.

Two perſons likewiſe were *killed* at *Wells* in the beginning of the winter, one of them were ſervant to *Mr. William Simonds* (one of the principal men in the Town aforeſaid) the Gentleman himſelf with his *Family* were removed to a *Garriſon houſe* in the middle of the Town, *his ſervant* going early in the *morning* to look after ſome buſineſs there; tarryed longer then was needful *to provide ſomething for himſelf*, the Indians *invited themſelves* to *breakfaſt* with him, making the *poor Fellow pay the ſhot*, when they had done, with the *loſs of his life*.

A week after one *Croſs* was ſlain at *Wells* likewiſe, who was a kind of a *diſtracted Fellow*. Alſo one *Iſaack Couſins* was there *killed* in the beginning of *Winter*, after there had been ſome *Overtures of peace* betwixt *Major Waldern* and the Indians.

With ſuch kind of mutual Encounters was the latter part of the year ſpent betwixt the Indians and the Engliſh from *Paſcataqua River* to *Kennibeck*, from the *beginning of Auguſt* to the *End of November*, wherein many were *ſlain* on both ſides: In one place, and in another; of the Engliſh in thoſe parts were ſlain *upward of fifty*. The Enemy loſt as *appeared afterward* by their own *Confeſſion*, above *ninety*, partly in the *foreſaid Skirmiſhes*, and partly in their joyning with the Indians to the *Weſtward*, whither it is ſaid, many of them were *invited to repair*, to help *deſtroy the Engliſh*, in hope to enjoy their poſſeſſions afterwards; But *God had otherwiſe determined*, who did ariſe at laſt to *ſave the meek ones of the Earth*, and *plead the Cauſe of his People*.

The *Governour* and *Counſel* of *Maſſachuſets*, had, at this time, their hands full with the like Attempts of *Philip* and his *Complices* to the *Weſtward*, yet were not unmindful of the *deplorable Condition* of theſe *Eaſtern Plantations*; having committed the care thereof to the *Majors* of the *Reſpective Regiments* of the ſeveral *Countyes* on that *ſide of the Country*, but more eſpecially to the care and prudence of the *Honoured Major D. Denſon*, the *Major General* of the whole *Colony*, a Gentleman

Gentleman, who by his great *inſight* in, and long Experience of all *Martial Affairs*, was every way *accompliſhed* for the *managing* that whole Affair; He had, to eaſe the other ſide of the Country, drawn out a *ſufficient number of Souldiers* from the next Countyes, to have reduced all the Indians *Eaſtward* to their *obedience*; but juſt as they were intended to *march up to the head Quarters* of the Indians, to fall upon them there, *viz.* to *Oſſapy*, and *Pigwauchet*, about an *hundred miles* up into the Country *Northward*.

The Winter ſetting in ſo ſharp and ſevere in the beginning of *December*, and latter end of *November*, It was not poſſible to have *marched a dayes Journy* into the woods, without hazarding all their lives that ſhould *venture* up; The *Snow* being found generally in thoſe woods, *four foot thick* on the *10th. of December*, ſo as it was not poſſible for any to have travelled that way, unleſs they carryed *Rackets under their feet*, wherewith to walk upon the *top of the Snow*: This alone Conſideration forced them to *lay aſide their deſigne* for the preſent, but ſoon after it was done to their hands; for the *depth of the Snow*, and *ſharpneſs of the cold* were ſo extream, that the Indians in thoſe parts were ſo *pinched therewith*, that being *hunger ſtarved*, they began to *ſue for peace*, making their Addreſs firſt to *Major Waldern* on that account, by whoſe mediations that *whole body* of Indians *Eaſtward* were brought to an *hopeful Concluſion of peace*, which was *mutually agreed upon*, and poſſibly might have remained *firm enough* to this day had there not been *too juſt an occaſion* given, for the breaking of the ſame by the *wicked practice* of ſome lewd perſons, which *opened the door*, and made way for the bringing in all thoſe ſad Calamities, and miſchiefs that have ſince fallen upon thoſe parts of the Country; As ſhall hereafter be declared.

In the latter end of *June*, 1676 The Indians that had made a *general Conſpiracy* againſt the Engliſh were *ſtrangely diſperſed*, and *diſpirited*, ſo as they from that time began to *ſeparate one from another*, and every Nation of them to ſhift for themſelves, as hath been already mentioned in the former part of this Narrative. *Canonicus* the great *Sachem* of the *Narrhaganſets* diſtruſting the proffers of the Engliſh, was ſlain in the woods by the *Mohawks*, his *Squaw* ſurrendring her ſelf, by this means her Life was ſpared.

Many of thoſe about *Lancaſter*, and the places adjoyning thereunto, did *cunningly endeavour* to hide themſelves amongſt thoſe Indians about *Paſcataqua*, that had newly made their ſubmiſſion to the *Engliſh*, by *Major Walderns* means and concluded a peace, yet could neither

ther *diſſemble* their *nature* and *diſpoſition* paſt before from ſuſpition of miſchief, nor yet ſo *artificially conceale* their perſons, but they were eaſily diſcerned by ſuch as in former times had any *acquaintance* with the *Eaſtern Indians* by way of *Trade*, or other *Converſe*: Whereupon the forces newly raiſed in the *Maſſachuſets*, under the Command of *Captain William Hathorne*, and *Captain Joſeph Syll*, deſigned for the ſubduing of thoſe Indians about the River of *Merrimack*, and *Paſcataqua*, that ſtill ſtood out *in Hoſtility* againſt the *Engliſh*, meeting with thoſe under the Command of *Major Waldern* aforeſaid, and *Capt. Froſt* of *Kittary*; It was mutually agreed betwixt thoſe ſeveral Commanders to ſeize upon all thoſe Indians that at that time were *met together* about *Major Walderns dwelling* at *Quechecho*; The *Contrivement* ſucceeded according to expectation, & all the ſaid Indians *were handſomely ſurprized, September 6th. 1676.* without the *loſs* of any *perſons life*, either Indian or Engliſh; to the number of neat *four hundred*: by which device, after our Forces had them all in their hands, they *ſeparated* the *peaceable* from the *perfidious*, that had been our Eeemies, during the late Troubles; finding above *two hundred* involved in the *former Rebellion*, more or leſs, accordingly they were ſent down to the *Governour and Councel* at *Boſton*; who adjudged *ſeven* or *eight* of them Immediately to dye; ſuch as were known to have had their *hand in the blood* of the Engliſh, or that had been *ſhed by their means*, the reſt, that were found only *Acceſſaries* to the *late miſchiefs*, had their lives ſpared, but were ſent into *other parts of the world*, to try the *difference* between the *Friendſhip* of their *Neighbours* here, and their *Service* with other *Maſters* elſewhere.

Thoſe who had been alwayes either *peaceable and true* to the Engliſh, never *intermedling* in the *quarrel*, as *Wannalancet* the *Sagamore of Pennicook* and ſome others were quietly diſmiſſed to their own places.

Beſides theſe that were ſurprized at the time aforeſaid; there were ſeveral others, who had been the *chief Actors*, that were *taken up and down* in thoſe *woods* beyond *Merrimack*, and ſo were delivered *up to Juſtice*; As *John Monoco*, *Sagamore Sam*, old *Jethro*, with ſome others, as hath been already mentioned, yet young *Jethro* brought *in forty* at one time. It was a *ſpecial favour from God*, ſo to order it, that the Indians aforeſaid, were ſo ſurprized; for had they continued in their *former Rebellion*, and had taken the opportunity to have joyned with the *Eaſtern Indians*, as ſome of them did a *few Months* before, they would, in all likelihood have *utterly deſtroyed all* the Plantations of the Engliſh beyond *Paſcataqua River*; As manifeſtly appears by the miſchief which

which was *lately done* by the means of *a few*, that by too much *Connivense* of ſome in thoſe parts, that entertained a better opinion of them then it ſeems they deſerved. For whereas mention formerly was made of a *ſmall party* of Indians that on the *third of May* in this *preſent year*, had *murdered* one *Thomas Kembel* of *Bradford*, and carryed *away his wife* & *five Children* Captive, yet *two* or *three* of the *Actors* did, upon what *Conſideration* is not known, return the *woman and Children again* within *ſix weeks*, and becauſe of their *voluntary returning of them*, were dealt more favourably withal; being only put into *priſon* at *Dover* for a time, yet poſſibly conceiving that a priſon was but a *preperation* for a worſe evil, they took an opportunity (*two of the chief Actors* in the foreſaid miſchief, called the one *Simond*, the other *Andrew*) to *convey themſelves* out of the place of *Reſtraint*, and afterward going amongſt the *Amoroſcoggan* and *Kennibeck* Indians, have joyned with them in thoſe *bloody and cruel depredations* lately made in thoſe parts, which follow in order next to be related.

Some little Colour or pretence of injury was alleadged before thoſe *Eaſtern* Indians began their outrage both in the former, as well as in the preſent year, the chief Actor or rather the beginner of all the foreſaid miſchiefs *Eaſtward*, is one *Squando*, the *Sagamore* of *Saco* Indians, whoſe *Squaw* as is ſaid was abuſed by a *rude* and *indiſcreet act* of ſome *Engliſh Seamen* in the *laſt Summer*, *1675.* who either overſet the *Canoo* wherein the ſaid *Squaw* with her Child were ſwimming in a River thereabouts, or elſe to try whether the Children of the Indians as they had heard, could Swimme as naturally as any other *Creatures*, *wittingly caſt her Child into the water*; but the *Squaw* immediately *diving* into the water after it, fetcht it up from the *bottom of the River*, yet it ſo falling out that within a *while after* the ſaid *Child dyed*, (which it might have done if no ſuch *Affront* had been offered) The *ſaid Squando* Father of the Child hath been ſo *provoked thereat*, that he hath ever ſince ſet himſelf to do all the miſchief he can to the *Engliſh* in *thoſe parts*, and was never as yet ſince that time *truly willing to be Reconciled*. Although he is ſaid to have *ſent home* ſome that were *taken Captive* the laſt year. Surely if their hearts had not been *ſecretly filled with malice and Revenge* before, they might have obtained *ſatisfaction for the wrong done*, at an *eaſier Rate*. More probable it is, that this was only an occaſion to vent the miſchief they formerly had conceived in their hearts.

There is an *injury* of an *higher nature*, mentioned as the ground of their *quarrel* with us, who live about *Pemmaquid*, and *Kennibeck*, which happned the *laſt Spring*, *viz.* one *Laughton* with another perſon

er more who having obtained under the hand of *Major Waldern* a *warrant* to *ſeize* any Indians *Eaſtward*, that had been guilty of any *Murder* or *ſpoyle* done to the *Engliſh* in thoſe parts; did moſt *perfidiouſly* and *wickedly* entice ſome of the Indians about *Cape Sables*, who never had been in the leaſt manner guilty of any injury done to the *Engliſh*, aboard their *Veſſel*, or elſe ſome other way, and then carryed them away to ſell them for *ſlaves*; which the Indians in thoſe parts look upon as an injury done to themſelves, and have alledged it to the *Inhabitants of Pemmaquid*, as one of the *principal grounds* of their *preſent quarrel*: The thing alleadged is too true as to matter of Fact, and the perſons that did it were lately committed to priſon in order to their *further tryal*. Yet all thoſe Indians do, or may know full well that they who did them that wrong, were lyable to *due puniſhment*, (or elſe their *quarrel* might be accounted juſt, and they conſidered as Indians, muſt have the more allowance) if they could be found, nor ever were any countenanced amongſt us, that had done them any kind of injury, nor did thoſe that take upon them the revenging of the injury, know that they were *Inhabitants* of this *Country* that did the *wrong*; nor was then ever any *orderly Complaint* made thereof, but this cannot excuſe their *perfidiouſneſs* and *Cruelty*, ſome other pretences were alleadged by the ſaid Indians that yet do bear no proportion to the mention of a *wrong* or *injury*, *viz.* becauſe our *Traders* were forbidden to ſell any *Amunition* to any Indians whatſoever; which thoſe Indians ſay they cannot live without; yet ſeeing themſelves, as well as the *Weſtward Indians* have ſo ill improved, that which they had before, there was little Reaſon why they ſhould *quarrel* with us, for ſelling no more:

Further alſo it is affirmed by ſome perſons *worthy of Credit*, that for divers years paſt have lived in thoſe parts, that the Indians thereabouts, need not have wanted *powder* or *ſhot*, only they wanted ſomething wherewith to *cloak their malitious and barbarous practices* of late committed againſt us; but there being different opinions about this point, we ſhall leave it at the preſent.

But this being premiſed in Reference to the pretended ground, or occaſion of the *quarrel*; It remains that the Effects thereof, be now related.

Before the *Warre* with *Philip* was well ended to the *Southward*, there was a freſh *Alarm* ſounded again to the *Eaſtward*, for on the *eleventh of Auguſt*, *1676*. The very day before Philips heart (that had harboured ſo many *miſchievous* and *Treacherous devices* againſt the *Engliſh* was by one of his own Company *ſhot through*) did a party of Indians begin their

Outrages

Outrages at *Caſco* in a moſt perfidious and treacherous manner, killing and carrying away Captive to the number of thirty perſons, and *burning their houſes*, amongſt whom was the Family of one *Antony Bracket* Inhabitant of *Caſco*, who was thought to have been killed, but he himſelf with his wife and one of his *five Children* carryed away Captive with a *Negro*, did happily make an eſcape from their *bloody* and *deceitful hands*, In *November* next enſuing

The manner how *Antony Bracket* and his wife made their eſcape was very *remarkable*, and therefore judged worthy to be inſerted here although out of due place, the Indians that led them Captive, having brought them to the *North ſide of Caſco Bay*: News was brought to the ſaid Indians of the ſurprizal of *Arowſick houſe in Kennibeck*, withall the ſtore therein, which did ſo rejoyce them, that they made all haſte to ſhare in the good things there to be had. Thus eager to be gone they promiſed *Bracket and his wife* that they ſhould have alſo a ſhare therein if they would make haſte after them, bringing along a burthen alotted to each of them: The woman having a little before obſerved an *old Burchin Canoo* lying by the *water ſide*, hoped it was an opportunity Providence offered for their eſcape; whereupon ſhe firſt prudently asked of the Indians to let the *Negro* their own ſervant (at the ſame time carryed Captive by them) help them to carry their *burthens*, which was *granted*: then ſhe begged of them a piece or two of meat, which was not *denyed them*. Thus being furniſhed with help and proviſion, the *Indians* leaving them thus behinde to come after with their *ſeveral burthens* and a *young Child*; They could not but look upon it as a *nutus Divinus*, to bid them, ſhift for themſelves: the woman alſo found a needle and thred in the houſe, where they ſtayd on that *ſide of the Bay*, with which having mended the *Canoo*, they ventured to get away; which proſperouſly ſucceeded: for in that *old Canoo* they croſſed a water *eight or nine miles broad*, and when they came on the *South ſide of the Bay*, they might have been in as much danger of other *indians*, that had lately been about *Black* point, and had taken it; but they were newly gone: So things on all ſides thus concurring to help forward *their Deliverance*, they came *ſafely* to the *Fat* at *Black* point, where alſo by ſpecial Providence they met with a *Veſſel* bound for *Paſcataqua*, that came in to that *Harbour*, but a few hours before they came thither, by which means they *Arrived ſafe in Paſcataqua* River, ſoon after, all which Circumſtances are very worthy to be noted.

Amongſt thoſe *Indians* that ſeized *this Brackets Family*, the chief was one *Simond*, that *newly* or a little before had eſcaped out of *Dover*

Priſon, where he was not over carefully lookt to, he had had his hand in the *murther* of *ſundry Engliſh*, as himſelf confeſſed; not miſſing *ſave one in the* which he had *diſcharged his gun* upon, but becauſe he came in *voluntarily*, bringing in a *woman and five Children* of the Engliſh, who had been *carryed Captive* a little before, it was queſtioned, whether his *laſt act of ſubmiſſion* might not *ballance* his former *tranſgreſſion*, and therefore was he committed to that, not ſo *ſecure a Priſon*, till his Caſe might be further conſidered of. It is ſaid that coming to that *Brackets houſe* over night he pulled forth a *counterfieted* paſs, under the hands of ſome publick *Officers*, or men *intruſted with that Service*, making ſhew of all Friendſhip, but in the morning or ſoon after, he pulled off his *Vizour* of a *friend*, and diſcovered what he was, yet *granting* Life to this perſon and his Family, that did not, or could not reſiſt, which he denyed to ſome of the *Neighbours* not far off, who were many of them *killed by this bloody Villany*, and his Partners.

There are ſome *Circumſtances* in the Aſſault of *Anthony Brackets* houſe very conſiderable, which, becauſe it was the firſt *Outrage* committed by the Indians in this their *ſecond Inſurrection*, 1676. are worthy of a more particular remembring.

This Indian forementioned called *Simond*, after he had eſcaped out of *Priſon* at *Dover*, came up to *Caſco*, and either in the end of *July*, or beginning of *Auguſt*, acquainted himſelf with this *Antony Bracket*, and oft frequented his houſe: Upon the *ninth of Auguſt*, ſome of the Indians having *killed a Cow* of his, the Indian *Simond* coming to his houſe promiſed to bring the Indians to him that had *killed his Cow*. In the mean time they of the place ſent two men to *Major Walderns* at *Dover*, to complain of this injury done by the Indians; but before their return, very *early in the morning* on the *eleventh of Auguſt*, *Simond* with a party of *Indians* came to *Antony Brackets* houſe, and told him there were the Indians that had *killed his Cow*; but as ſoon as they had ſaid that, the *Indians* went further into his houſe and took hold of all the *Guns* they could ſee, *Antony Bracket* aſked what was the meaning of that, *Simond* preſently replyed, that ſo it *muſt be*, asking him withal, whether he had rather ſerve the *Indians*, or be *ſlain by them*, *Antony Bracket* Anſwered, that if the Caſe were ſo, he would rather chuſe to *ſerve them*, then be *killed by them*: *Simond* replyed, that then they muſt *be bound*, which preſently was done. The ſaid *Bracket*, *his wife*, and a *Negro* were *all bound* by the Indians, *his wife* had a *Brother*, who offering to reſiſt was killed forthwith, the reſt with *five Children* were led away *Priſoners*.

Two

Two hours after one *Pike* that lived not far off, but knowing nothing of all this, went up in a *Canoo* toward one *Robert Corbins* houſe, where he found one *Humphry Durham*, and *Benjamin Atwel* at work about their *Hay*, after a little ſtay, he left them intending to go up higher with his *Canoo*, but as ſoon as he was a little paſt, he heard *Guns ſhot off*, which made him with another man he had with him, preſently *return back*; before he came beyond *Corbins houſe* he ſaw an *Engliſh boy* running with all haſte, which made him fear ſome miſchief was in hand, and preſently a *Volley of ſhot* came againſt them, but the *Bullets* flying over their *heads*, did them no hurt: preſently *Simond Indian* appeared, and called them to *come a ſhore*; but they liked not his *Courteſy*, but preſently turning their *Canoo* into the ſtream got out of the reach of their Guns, haſting down to his *own houſe* with all ſpeed; when he came near to *his houſe*, he called to the *People* to make *haſt away*, towards the *Garriſon houſe*, and bid the reſt *look to themſelves*, and *fire* upon the Indians, that were coming againſt them: In the mean while, *the Indians* paſſing from *Anthony Brackets* to *Corbins*, killed *Corbin himſelf*, with *Humphry Durham*, and *Benjamin Atwel* forementioned: Then paſſing on to *other houſes*, carryed away ſome of them *Captive*, and *killed* others. At one of the next houſes, the *women and Children* got off into the *water* by a *Canoo*; but one *James Roſs*, his *wife and Children* were carryed away: *Corbins wife* with one of the other mens *wives*; and the *Children* of *another* of them, they likewiſe carryed away.

In another ſide of the Town, three were as they were going to *reap at Antony Brackets*, paſſing from an houſe where they left their *Canoo*, met with *John Mount-joy* and one *Wakely*, to whom they told what had hapned, ſoon after they heard two Guns ſhot of, whereby it ſeems *two men* were *killed*, wherefore coming back toward *Thomas Brackets* where they had left their *Canoo*, they ſaw him *ſhot down* by the Indians; one of the *three* not ſo well able *to run* hid himſelf in the buſhes in *hope to make his eſcape* more conveniently afterwards, which accordingly he did; but in the mean time he ſaw the Indians carry away *Thomas Brackets wife and Children*; Soon after the *three men* aforeſaid got ſafe to *My. Mount joyes* Garriſon, but not truſting to the Security of that Garriſon, they ſoon after repayred to an *Iſland* in the Bay, called *James Andrews Iſland*.

One *George Lewes* and *his wife* tarryed all this time in their houſe till the next day, when they had opportunity to get ſafe to the *Iſland* aforeſaid, together with the *two men* that were now returned from *Major Waldern*; whither they had been ſent, but *too late*, to make complaint

of the Indians that had *counterfeited his hand* to travail into thoſe parts, and had done this miſchief.

The day after one *George Felt* ſuſpecting the worſt by reaſon of a *ſmoak*, he ſaw on the *oppoſite ſide of the Town*, took his *wife and Children* into a *Canoo* to ſee what the *matter was*, but when he came near a *point of Land* not far off, he found ſeveral of his *Neighbours goods* which made him conclude their Owners *were killed*, which was a *ſufficient warning* to him likewiſe to *fly for his Life*, which he did to the *ſame Iſland*. After they had ſundry of them eſcaped thither, ſome of them remembred that they had *left powder* behind them in *one or two places*; whereupon they reſolved to venture a party of them in the night, partly to *prvent the Indians* from having any Advantage thereof, and partly for their *own defence if occaſion ſhould be*; Their Attempt ſucceeded well, for they brought away a *barrel of powder* from one *Willes his houſe*, and likewiſe a *conſiderable quantity* out of *a Cheſt* in a *Store houſe*, where the Indians had been *ranſacking*, & had taken things out of the *other end* of the *Cheſt*, yet *overlooked the Powder*: In this ſurprizal of the *Plantation* in *Caſco Bay*, called *Falmouth*, there were *thirty four perſons killed and carryed Captive*.

That this was not a caſual Attempt, but a *deſigned plot*, it will appear, in that juſt about the very ſame time, the Indians at *Kennibeck*, made the *like Inſurrection*, whereby it is concluded, either that the Indians which eſcaped from *Dover*, ſtirred them up thereunto, or elſe that the ſaid Indians finding them in a *diſpoſition tending that way*, by reaſon of ſome injuries done them that dwell farther *Northward*, they offered their Service to *help forward* the deſigne.

It is to be noted here, that the Indians about *Kennibeck* were perſwaded to continue their former *amity* with the *Engliſh* notwithſtanding the report of *Philips riſing that year before*, and the *Outrages* committed the *laſt Autumne*, and *winter* following, yet which is more, they had lately *renewed their League* with the *Engliſh* in thoſe parts, although they had often complained to thoſe of *Pemmaquid*, of the injury they ſuffered, in the withholding from them the *Trade of Powder*, and *ſhot*, without which they ſaid they cannot *ſubſiſt*, and for want of which it is alſeadged by themſelves, that ſome of them *periſhed* the laſt *Winter*.

But the *Quarrel* of late *fallen out* betwixt the *Engliſh*, and the Indians about *Kennibeck*, and *Eaſtward* thereof, being a matter of *great Conſequence*; For the farther ſatisfaction of the Reader, it ſhall in what follows, be more *particularly deſcribed*; It being the duty of every one that

that *publisheth things* of this nature, to to do the *right of an Historian* to all sorts of *persons*, any way concerned in what is *made publick*; The Information was received from a *prudent person*, an *Eye* and *Ear witness* of all that hapned amongst the said Indians, both the *former* and present *year*, and one that was of more *publick Concernment* in *those Transactions* then some others, therefore may the more heed be given thereto. Mention is already made of what hapned in *September*, 1675. to the Company belonging to *a Sloop, and two other Boats*, that went up *Casco Bay* to gather Indian Corn; Upon that Accident it is said, divers Indians on the *East side of Kennibeck River* repayred to their *Fort* at *Totonnock* (a place up higher into the Country beyond *Kennibeck* and *Shipscot River*) where was an *English trading house*. And the Indians *Eastward* of the said *River*, had as yet done no harm to any of the *English*, yet did *Captain Sylvanus Davis* Agent for *Major Clarke* and *Captain Lake* of *Boston*, upon these *Overtures* think it fit to fetch down the *Powder and Shot* with other goods from the said *Trading house*, telling the Indians, by the Messenger sent up, he would have them come down and live below *in that River*, to take off *Jealousies*, and that he would then supply them with what was needful.

But the *Messenger* told them, in Case they would not come down, and deliver up their Arms, the *English* would kill them. *He that sendeth a Message by the hand of a Fool* saith Solomon, *cutteth off the feet, and drinketh dammage*; This Message was delivered by him that went, as was *confessed* by himself, who put it into his mouth, or whether it was *devized* in his *own heart*, it concerns not us now to enquire, but the *dammage* that side of the Country hath been made to *drink thereby*, is not easy to *recount*; for upon this *Threatning Message* the Indians *forsook* their *Fort* presently, and went *Eastward*, and sent abroad to *Johns River* and to the *Sea side* to get all the Indians they could together to come up *Penobscot River*.

A *Gentleman* who at that time lived at *Pemmaquid*, a kind of *Superintendent* over the Affairs of that place, considering the *sad state* things were running into, laboured to *obtain a Parly* with the said Indians, or some of them, which after much trouble and cost, he did accomplish; But in the mean time, such was the *violence* used by some *refractory English* in those parts, that they could scarce be *restrained* from *offering violence* to the *persons* he *sent up* as *Messengers*, or others that *lived quietly amongst them*, and did also as violently *set themselves* to oppose himself, or any others that acted with more *moderation*, then the rest; *protesting against them*, as those who *for gain* supplyed the Indians with

Powder

Powder and Shot, and ſaid they would kill any Indian they met; others at *Monbiggan* offered *five pound* for every Indian that ſhould be brought, yet would not theſe perſons that were *ſo violent* againſt the Indians in their diſcourſe, be perſwaded upon any Terms, then, or afterward, to *go out to fight againſt* the Indians in an *orderly way*; as appeared both by their Security in not *ſtanding better upon their guard*, and by their *ſudden flight* afterward, running away like a *Flock of Sheep*, at the *barking* of any *little dog*: Things being in this *poſture*, what could be expected but a *preſent warr* with the Indians, although as it ſeems, there were few or none like to be found, willing to undertake it, or fit to manage it in thoſe parts. However, the perſon aforeſaid, underſtanding, the *General Court at Boſton* had appointed a *Counſel of Warr* at *Kennibeck*, applyed himſelf to them, laying before them the *deſperate ſtate* things were falling into; whereupon they iſſued out warrants to reſtrain all manner of perſons from medling with the Indians without farther order, which within few dayes ſhould be had. In the mean time the *Sachems* of the Indians meet at *Pemmaquid*; where, after many complaints made of the *hard dealing* of the Engliſh in *Kennibeck River*, they came to *Tearms of Peace*, promiſing to keep true Friendſhip with the *Engliſh*; and to hinder the *Amonoſcoggan* Indians from medling with the Engliſh, if by any means they could, and alſo to *return peaceably* in the Spring of the year. This *Gentleman* aforeſaid, having a long time waited to go to *Boſton*; was willing to take the opportunity of the *preſent Winter*, hoping things were now pretty well ſetled in thoſe parts *betwixt the Indians and the Engliſh*; found ſoon after, that he was *cited thither* to Anſwer ſome Complaints (though made without ground) for ſelling *Powder & Shot* to the Indians contrary to Order.

But thoſe falſe opinions being eaſily blown away by his own appearance at *Boſton*, and ſo having diſpatched his occaſions there, he returned before the winter was over to *Pemmaquid*, where hearing of a *Veſſel* that intended to take Indians in thoſe parts, and carry them away to a *market*, the which he had many *ſtrong Reaſons* to *believe*, (it being no hard matter to ſurprize many ſuch, that ſuſpecting by *fraud*, would eaſily be enticed *aboard a Veſſel* to trade, or may be to *drink Liquor*) ſent both the *Maſter and Company*, if they had any ſuch intent to forbear, ſeeing thoſe Indians were at *peace with us*, and likewiſe to the Indians, to *inform them* of ſuch a Veſſel, and to *beware thereof*, but yet it ſeems the *Maſter and Company* took ſeveral Indians *Eaſtward*, who were alſo at peace with us, and to our *great ſorrow* ſhipt them *aboard for a market*.

The

The winter being now over, the forenamed *Agent of Pemmaquid*, went to a meeting of the Indians *Eaſtward*, to *perſwade them*, of the Countries *willingneſs* to continue a *peace with them*. They ſeemed very joyful thereat, and in the Spring brought ſome *Preſents* to *confirm the Peace*, and to that end alſo delivered up an *Engliſh Captive Boy* to thoſe of *Kennibeck*. But when the Summer came on, that the ſaid Indians had liberty to *travail up and down* the Country to viſit their Friends as they uſed to do; they miſſed thoſe their *Friends* who had in the winter *perfidiouſly been carryed away*, and as is related, they fell into a Rage againſt the *Engliſh*, making Complaint thereof to the *ſaid Agent*, *Mr. Earthy*, *Mr. Richard Oliver*, and others: They were told means ſhould be uſed for bringing them *back again*, which had been ſo *Tranſported*, thoſe to whom the Complaint was made, did ſcarce believe it to be true, as not having *heard thereof* from *any other hand*, and probably hoping none, eſpecially after ſolemn warning, would deal ſo *perfidiouſly with Heathens*, to lay ſuch a *ſtumbling block* before them.

The Indians being *certain* of the *thing done*, could not be *eaſily pacified*, being likewiſe incenſed againſt the *Engliſh*, for *withholding* the Trade of *Powder and Shot* the *laſt winter*, ſaying, they were *frighted from their Corn* the laſt year by the People about *Kennibeck*, ſo as many of them *dyed* in the following *winter* for want of *Powder and Shot*, wherewith to *kill Veniſon and Foul*; Adding withal, that if the Engliſh were their Friends as they pretended, they would not ſuffer them to dye, for want thereof: However, the *ſaid Agent* making the beſt he could of a *bad Cauſe*, uſed all means to *pacifie the Complaynents*, and to that end promiſed them, that if they could meet with any of the *Amonoſcoggan* Indians (who it ſeems all along had the *bittereſt Enmity* againſt the *Engliſh*) he would give them a meeting to *treat in order to a Peace*, *Major Waldern* having already concluded a *Peace* with the *Paſcataqua* & *Caſco Indians*, & by that means, if they could conclude the like peace with the *Amonoſcoggan* men, (that could not yet be found) there would be a *general Peace* with all the Indians *Eaſtward of Paſcataqua*, which the Indians that were preſent at this diſcourſe, ſeemed *very joyful at*: yet ſtill by one *fatal Accident* or other, *jealouſies* ſtill ſeemed to *increaſe in their minds*, or elſe the *former injuries* began to *boyle afreſh* in their Spirits, as not being eaſily *digeſted*, what ever had been *ſaid*, or *done to allay* the *offenſiveneſs thereof*. Soon after comes a *Poſt* from *Totonnock*, to deſire him to repair thither according to his promiſe, where they told him he ſhould meet with *Squando*, and divers *Amonoſcoggan Sachems*, and that *Mng* was ſent *Poſt* to fetch the ſaid *Squando*:

This Gentleman mindful of his promiſe, went with the *Poſt* to *Kennibeck*, and finding *Captain Lake* at his houſe in *Arowſick*; It was judged meet, that *Captain Sylveſter Davis* ſhould go along with him, with inſtructions from the *Counſel* then ſitting in *Kennibeck*, how to carry on their *Treaty*. After they had gone part of their way towards *Totonnock*, they came to an Engliſh houſe, where they were told, what great *jealouſies of deceipt* in the Indians were upon their Spirits, from what they had heard of *Muggs* and *Tarumkin*, an *Amonoſcoggan Sachem*: going farther to a place called *Kedonu-Cook*, they met with Indians, who were very *ſhye of telling* them any thing, which added to the *former Intimation*, greatly *increaſed their fears*: but being reſolved of their voyage, they went onward ſtill in *their way*, yet falling ſhort of the place *on purpoſe*, that they might *finiſh their buſineſs* with them the *next day*: when they came to their *Fort*, they were firſt *ſaluted with a Volley of Shot*, then brought into a *Wigwam* where their *Sachems* were: *Madockawando* ſate as chief, who now ſtiles himſelf their *Miniſter*: Being ſet in Councel, they made *Aſſiminaſqua* their ſpeaker; whoſe *Adopted Son* was the ſaid *Madochewando*: He told them it was not *their Cuſtome*, if any came as *Meſſengers* to treat with them, *to ſeize* upon *their perſons*, as ſometimes the *Mohawks* did with ſuch as had been ſent to them: *Captain Davis* and the other *Gentleman* told them, therein they *dealt like men*: Anſwer was preſently made them; you did *otherwiſe by our men*, when *fourteen* came to *treat* with you; And ſet a *Guard over them*, and took away *their Guns*: And not only ſo, but a ſecond time you *required our Guns*, and demanded us to *come down* unto you, or elſe you would kill us, which was the Cauſe of our *leaving* both *our Fort*, and *our Corn* to our great loſs.

It was without doubt no ſmall trouble to their minds, in a Treaty with theſe *Pagans*, *Hæc diei potuiſſe, & non potuiſſe refelli*: Yet to put the *beſt Conſtruction* might be, on ſuch *Irregular actions*, which could not well be *juſtifyed*. They told them, the perſons who had ſo done, were not within the Limits of their Government, and therefore though they could not *call them* to an *account* for *ſo acting*, yet they did *utterly diſallow* thereof: Adding farther, as ſoon as we underſtood thereof, we ſent for you to *Pemmaquid*, and Treated you kindly, and kept you, as you know, from the violence of the Engliſh; The Indians *Replyed*, we do but inform you, and will Treat further in the *Afternoon*. But when the *Afternoon came*, our *Two Meſſengers* told them, their buſineſs was to Treat with the *Amonoſcoggan Sachems*, and that they were ſorry, *Squando* was not there: Then having confirmed their Peace with

thoſe

thoſe *Eaſtward Indians*, they intreated the *Amonoſcoggan* men to ſpeak, who likewiſe urged *Tarumkin*, the chief *Amonoſcoggan Sachem* to ſpeak, who after *ſome pauze*, ſaid he had been to the *Weſtward*, where he had found many Indians *unwilling for Peace*: but ſays he, I found *three Sachems* (whom he named, though thoſe he ſpake to knew them not) willing to *have peace*; And for my own part, I am *willing for peace*, and gave them *his hand* with Proteſtation of his continuing in Friendſhip, ſo did *ſeven or eight more* of the *Amonoſcoggan* men; whoſe Names they took, of whom *Mug* and *Robin Hood's Son* were two. After this *Madochewando* asked them what they ſhould do for Powder and Shot, when they had eaten up their Indian Corn, what they ſhould do for the *Winter*, for their hunting Voyages? asking withal, whether they would have them dy, or leave their Country, and go all over to the *French*. Our Meſſengers told him, they would do what they could with the *Governour*, ſome might be *allowed them* for *Neceſſity*: He ſaid they had waited long already, and therefore would have them now ſay yea, or nay, whether they ſhould have *powder as formerly, or not*? Our Meſſengers then *Replyed*, you your ſelves ſay, many of the *Weſtern* Indians would not have Peace, And therefore if we ſell you *powder*, and you give it to the *Weſtern* men, what do we but cut our own Throats? Adding further, It is not in our power *without leave*, if you ſhould *waite ten year* more, to let you have *powder*, at which words they ſeemed much to be offended.

But yet the next day they reſolved to go down with them, & to ſpeak with the Weſtern men, thereby, if it might be, to ſtop their farther proceeding.

So going down with them *the next day*, they met with ſome Indians who had got *ſtrong Liquor*, with whom they fell a drinking: Our Meſſengers *ſtayed at two places* for them, and finding that ſtill they tarryed behinde, not knowing what *farther to do*, they went home, it being the *ſixth day* of the week. But the next night ſave one, news came to *Kennibeck*, that the Indians had killed divers Engliſh in *Caſco*, although it was not yet known at *Pemmaquid*. Upon this News *Capt. Davis* ſet out one Sentinel the next night. The reſt, (ſuch was *their Security*) went all elſe to bed. And in the morning, were all like *Laiſh* ſurprized, thus might it be ſaid, *Invadunt Ædem ſomno (ſi non) vinoq; ſepultam*. The particulars of the *ſurprizing of* Kennibeck, and *Arowſick houſe* are thus related by ſuch as were acquainted therewith.

Upon the *thirteenth of Auguſt, 1676.* ſeveral Indians repaired in the

Evening to the houſe of one Mr. *Hammond*, an ancient Inhabitant, and Trader with the Indians up *Kennibeck River*, His *daughter* or a *maid* that was *ſervant* in the houſe, either *naturally afraid* of the *Natives*, or elſe upon ſomething *ſhe obſerved* in their *Countenance*, or *Carriage*, manifeſted ſo *much fear*, as made her *run out of the houſe* to hide her ſelf in ſome *place abroad*; The Indians perceiving it, the more to *diſſemble their Treachery*, ran after her, and brought her into the houſe, telling her (although they could not perſwade her ſo to believe) that there was no Reaſon to be *afraid* of them: preſently after more of the *Barbarous Villains* coming into the houſe, ſhe grew *more afraid then before*, being now more ſtrongly perſwaded that they came on *purpoſe* to *kill or ſurprize* thoſe in the Family, whereupon ſhe ſuddenly made *an eſcape* out of the houſe, and preſently paſſed into a *Field* of *Indian Corn*, whereby ſhe might the better avoid the *danger of any purſuer*, and ſo ran croſs over the land that night *ten* or *twelve miles*, to give them notice that lived at *Shipſcot River*; It is ſaid that after ſhe got out, ſhe heard *a noyze* in the houſe, as if they were *fighting or ſcuffling within doors*; but ſhe did not count it wiſdom to go back to ſee what the *matter was*, knowing enough before of their *Villanyes*, how well ſoever *her Mrs.* (that was *more verſed* in the Trade of the Indians) might think of them. Thoſe of *Shipſcot* taking this *warning* eſcaped away as ſoon as they could leaving their *Cattle and their dwellings* as a *Prey* to the Indians. What befel *Maſter Hammond and his Family* is not yet certainly known: Reports paſs up and down, that ſome who came down the River afterwards, ſaw *ſome of the dead ſtripped* upon the *Banke* of the *River*, which makes us fear the worſt, concerning all the reſt; for certainly the *whole Family ſixteen* in *Number*, were all at that time either *killed*, or carryed away Captive, none ſave the maid aforeſaid, being known to make any other eſcape, to *inform* their *Friends* like *Jobs Meſſengers*, what befell the reſt of the Family.

The Indians having in this manner *ſurprized Mr. Hammonds houſe*, they paſſed down the River the ſame night; but going by *another houſe*, medled not with the people, only *turned their Canoos a drift*, that they might not find means afterwards to *eſcape themſelves*, or *help others* ſo to do: poſſibly their chief aim being at *Arowſick houſe*, they would not, for fear of being diſcovered, make any Attempt upon any place near by: wherefore *Auguſt the fourteenth* very early in the *morning*, having in the *night*, or before *break of day* paſſed over on to the *Iſland* called *Arowſick*, ſeveral of them undiſcovered lay hid under the *Walls of the Fort*, and behind a *great Rock* near adjoyning, till the *Sun-*

rimes

Sentinel was gone off from his place, (who went off it ſeems ſooner than was Reaſon, conſidering the danger) when preſently ſome Indians *followed him in*, at the *Fort gate*, (as ſome report) while others of them *immediately ſeized* the *Port holes thereof*, and *ſhot down* all they ſaw paſſing up and down *within the Walls*, and ſo in a little time became *Maſters of the Fort*, and all that was within it: *Captain Lake* (joynt Owner with *Major Clarke* of the whole *Iſland*) hearing the *buſſle* that was *below*, betwixt the Indians and thoſe that belonged to the place, was *ſtrangely ſurprized*, yet *himſelf with Captain Sylvanus Davis* and *two more*, underſtanding that the Indians had ſeized the *Fort*, & *killed* divers of the *Engliſh*, apprehending it *boot leſs*, or rather *heartleſs* to ſtay, as not being able to *ſtand upon their guard*, or make any *reſiſtance*, made a ſhift to find ſome paſſage out at a *back door*, whereby they eſcaped to the *water-ſide*, where they found a *Canoo*, into which they all entered and made away toward another *Iſland* near by: This was not done ſo ſecretly but the Indians *diſcerned them* before they were gone farr; *four of them* therefore haſted after thoſe that had eſcaped; in another *Canoo*, and coming within *ſhot*, diſcharged their *Guns* upon them, whereby *Sylvanus Davis* was ſorely *wounded*; yet making haſt, as generally they uſe to do, that *fly for their lives*, *timor addidit alas*, they got a ſhore before the Indians *overtook them*. It is ſaid they were *ſtrangely diſpirited*, or elſe they might eaſily have defended themſelves againſt *their purſuers*: But when once mens *hearts are ſunke with fear*, and *diſcouragement* upon a ſudden *ſurprizal*, it is hard to *buoy* them up, to make any competent *reſiſtance*: *Capt. Davis* being ſadly wounded, could neither truſt to his *legs to fly*, nor yet make uſe of his *hands to fight*; yet was *ſtrangly preſerved*; Providence *directing* him to go into *the Cleft of a Rock* hard by the place, where he firſt landed; The Indians by the *glittering of the Sun beams* in their *Eyes* as they came *a ſhore*, did not diſcern him; ſo as lying hid under the Covert of the *hand of Providence*, for two dayes, he at laſt *crawled* a little about the *water ſide*, till he found a *Canoo*, whereby he *eſcaped away* with his Life, much adoe. The other two men, were *better foot men*, and parting from *Captain Lake*, made their eſcape *ten or a dozen mile*, to the further end of the *Iſland*, and ſo eſcaped from the Indians, till they found means to get off: *Poor Captain Lake*, that a few *hours before*, ſlept quietly in *his Manſion houſe*, ſurrounded with a ſtrong *Fortification*, defended with *many Souldiers*, is now forced to *fly away* with *none to attend him*. And as the *Awful* hand of *Divine Providence* ordered things, was as ſome ſay, *pur-*

ſued by ſuch Indians as were *meer ſtrangers* to the place, that knew not the *Maſter from the man*, by one of whom he was *ſhot down*, as is ſuppoſed, ſoon after his coming aſhore; *Lieut. Davis* heard *two Guns*, by which 'twas thought, & ſoon after was known ſo to be by an Indian which ſince hath confeſſed to *Captain Davis* that he ſhot him that day *Arowſick* was taken, which he intended not to have done, but that he *held up his Piſtol* againſt him, whereas if he had but *asked quarter*, he ſhould have had his Life. *Captain Lake* was ſlain at that time, although many hopes were for ſome time maintained, that he was *taken alive*, and kept with *other Captives*, amongſt the Indians; And 'tis ſaid the Indians of thoſe parts did not intend to kill him, if they could have helped it: But it was known, that *his hat* was ſeen upon an *Indians head* not long after, which made his Friends conclude what had befallen the *Owner that good man*, who might *Emphatically* be ſo termed in *diſtinction* from them that may truly be called *juſt men*, and no more: For it ſeems according to the *juſt Agreement* betwixt himſelf and his *part owner* of *Arowſick Iſland*, it was not *his turn* this year to have been *upon the place*, but ſuch was *his goodneſs*, that he yielded to the deſire of his *Friend* and *Partner*, as in his *room* and *ſtead* to take upon himſelf *that Service* in this *time of danger*, it is hoped his goodneſs in *future time* will not be forgotten by ſuch as were any way concerned therein, or had *Advantage thereby*.

This Iſland (called *Arowſick* from an Indian *ſo named*, that formerly poſſeſſed it, and of whom it was purchaſed by one *Mr. Richards* who ſold it to *Captain Lake and Major Clarke*) lyes up *ten miles* within the *mouth of Kennibeck River*; it is ſome *miles in length*, and containeth many *thouſand Acres* of very *good Land*; where *meadow and arable ground* are in a good *proportion* well *ſuited together*; within the Fort aforeſaid were many *convenient buildings* for ſeveral *Offices*, as well for *wares* and *Trading*, as habitation: *ſix ſeveral Edifices* are ſaid to have been *there erected*. The *Warehouſe* at that time was well *furniſhed* with all *ſorts of goods*; beſides a *Mill* and other *Accommodations*, and dwellings within a *mile of the Fort* and *Manſion houſe*; ſome of whoſe Inhabitants hardly made their *eſcape*, upon the *firſt ſurpizal of the Fort*.

All which conſidered, the loſs that befel the *Proprietours* at the *ſurprizal of this Iſland* ſeems to be *very great*, valued at *many thouſands*: but thoſe that were the Owners with others of *late times*, have found in their *own Experience*, what *Solomon* ſaid of old, *There is a Time to get, and a Time to looſe, a Time to keep, and a Time to caſt away*; *A Time to*

break

break down, as well as *a Time to build up*. The perſons *killed* and taken at *Kennibeck*, both at *Mr. Hammonds*, and at *Arowſick*, are ſaid to be *fifty three*.

Upon the Report of this *ſad diſaſter*, all the Plantations of the *Engliſh* in thoſe parts were ſoon after left, and forſaken by degrees. All the reſt of the Inhabitants of *Kennibeck River*, *Shipſcot River*, *Saga-de-hock*, *Damanicottee*, fearing to be ſerved in the ſame kind, fled to the Iſlands of *Cape-bonawagan* and *Damorils Cove*.

On the *ſecond day at night* a *Poſt* was ſent to *Pemmaquid* to inform them of what had hapned, who being but *eight* or *ten men*, were minded to go to the Iſland called *Monhiggon*, having ſecured the *beſt of their goods*, but the wind taking them ſhort, they were forced to turn into *Damarils Cove*, where they found Mr. *Wiswal*, and Mr. *Colicot*, there they laboured *two dayes* to ſettle a *Garriſon*; But partly by the *mutinouſneſs* of the People, and partly by the *want of Proviſion* nothing could be done to *ſecure the Iſland*, ſo that it was preſently deſerted: From thence they went to *Monhiggon*, reſolving there to tarry till they heard from *Boſton*, from whence Mr. *Colicot*, and Mr. *Wiswel* promiſed to do their *utmoſt endeavour* to ſend help. There they ſetled *three Guards*, and appointed *five and twenty to watch every night*, not knowing but that the Indians might come every hour. But continuing there a *Fortnight*, and finding no Relief like to come; and ſeeing all the Country *burned round about*. (For after they had gotten all that could be ſaved from *Pemmaquid*, they ſaw all the other Iſland, *Windgin*, *Corbins ſound*, *New-Harbour*, *Pemmaquid* all on fire in two houres time) then conſidering what was beſt to be done, they found no *Boats* could be ſent *to ſea* for fear of *weakning the Iſland*, and that moſt of thoſe that were upon the Iſland, were *Strangers*, *Coaſters*, and ſuch as came from the *Mayne*, and were ready to *be gone* upon every occaſion, they laid an *Imbargoe* for one weeks time, after which a Letter was received from Major *Clark*, deſiring their *Aſſiſtance* for enquiring after *Capt. Lake if alive*, ſaying, what could be had at *Kennibeck* &c. but intimating nothing of any help like to come, beſides thoſe that *brought the Letter* told them, it was in *vain to expect* any help from *Boſton*. It being queſtioned there, what they had to do with thoſe parts, upon which the Inhabitants conſidered, that if they ſhould tarry there, and ſpend all their *Proviſion*, and neither *be able* to *go to Sea*, nor yet *to live*, or *be ſafe a ſhore* for want of help, it were better for them to remove, while they had ſomething *left to live upon*, and ſeek imployment elſe where; ſo by Conſent they *reſolved forthwith* to *Tranſport themſelves*, and what they

had

had ſaved of their goods to ſome place of Security, ſo they took the firſt opportunity to ſet ſayle, ſome for *Paſcataqua*, ſome for *Boſton*, and ſome for *Salem*, at one of which three places they all ſafely arrived.

Having thus eſcaped at firſt as *Lot out of Sodom*, but not counting themſelves ſafe in that *Zoar*, where for a little while they made ſhift to hide their heads, till they might eſcape to ſome ſurer place, there waiting for better times, when they may with peace and quietneſs return to their former habitations, or ſeek ſome other elſe where.

When the forſaid Exploits were done by the Indians in and about *Caſco Bay*, ſeveral of the *Engliſh* removed to *Jewels Iſland*, where they hoped to be more ſecure from the Indians, but their barbarous Enemy finding ſo little Reſiſtance made againſt them on the main Land, a conſiderable party of them came with their Canoos to deſtroy that Iſland alſo, about three weeks after the forementioned miſchiefs.

There was a fortifyed houſe upon the ſaid Iſland, where the Engliſh that either kept upon the Iſland, or repayred thither, hoped to have ſecured themſelves. But at that time when the Indians aſſaulted the place, many of the *Engliſh were abſent*, few left in the Garriſon, but women and Children: ſome were gone to other places to fetch Indian Corn, others were in a Boat imployed about *Fiſh*, amongſt whom was one *Richard Pots* with two more; The wife of the ſaid *Pots* was waſhing by the water ſide, where ſhe was ſurprized with her Children, and carryed away in ſight of her husband, who was not a little diſtreſſed with that ſad Spectacle, but was not able to afford any Relief either to wife or Children; although one of the Children eſpying his Father in his boat, ran into the water, calling out for help, but an Indian ran after him to catch him up; the poor man in a great Agony being within half ſhot, was about to have fired upon the Indian, but then fearing he might wound his Child which the Villain had laid hold of, he forbore, rather ſuffering him to be carryed away alive, then be expoſed to ſo manifeſt danger of his Life, or Limbs, by ſhooting at the Indian.

It is ſaid that ſome of the Indians were killed by them in the Garriſon: They ſpeak of a Lad that at one ſhot killed two or three of them, ſome Guns were found afterwards under the Fort, which were ſuppoſed to have belonged to ſome of the Indians that were killed. Some that were abroad when the Fort was aſſaulted, deſperately broke in through the Indians, whereby at the laſt, many of the People were preſerved: ſome flying away from Jewels Iſland in a Canoo toward Richmonds Iſland, met with a Ketch, to which they made known the diſtreſs the People were in, who thereupon went to the place, and took in all the People they found there,

there, and carryed *them off* to a place of *more ſafety*. Yet were there ſeveral perſons ſaid to be *killed and carryed away* at that time *viz. three men*, who were known to be killed, *two women and two Children*, that are ſuppoſed to be yet alive, though in the *Enemies power*.

From thence they went to *Spurwinks*, where they *aſſaulted* one place or more, and killed *one man*, wounded *another*, and carryed another *away Captive*: Amongſt them that were in danger of ſurprizal, one that *could not run*, hid himſelf in a *garden of Cabbages* ſo as he was not found, yet was very *near them*, for he over heard *ſeveral queſtions*, they asked him they took; by which means he was the better enabled afterward to prevent the danger *two more* were coming into, for the *poor Fellow* that they had taken, told them, that one *Shendal* with another man *were to come that way* by and by; whereupon this man that had hid himſelf, meeting that *Shendal* and the other *man* gave them notice of the danger, whereby they were *delivered* out of the *ſnare*, for that time; not long after one of them, *viz. Mr. Shendal* fell into their hands as ſhall be declared afterwards. Within a while after, or much about that ſame time, another *ſad Accident* befel *ſix or ſeven* of them that belonged to *Caſco*. For upon the *twenty third of September* ſome perſons that belonged to *a Sloop*, and *a Skallop*, that were *preſſed into the Service* (one Reaſon of which was to prevent their ſtragling they being perſons that belonged to thoſe parts about *Caſco*) were over deſirous to ſave ſome of their *Proviſion*, to which end they firſt made their Addreſs to *Captain Hatborne*, (under whom they were *ordered to ſerve*) deſiring they might *be releaſed*; the *Captain* told them he could not do it, but deſired them to *have patience* for a while, they told him, that *they muſt* and *would go*, elſe their Families muſt *ſtarve at home*: The *Captain* told them further of the danger, and bid them not ſtir at their peril: However they would go, and ſoon after went to *Mountjoyes Iſland* to fetch ſheep, where they landed *ſeven men*; but the Indians preſently ſet upon them, they preſently betook themſelves to the *Ruines of a ſtone houſe*, where they defended themſelves as long as they could; but at laſt they were all *deſtroyed* either with *ſtones caſt in upon them*, or elſe with the *Enemies ſhot*, except one, who, though at the firſt it was hoped his *wounds* were not *mortal*, yet ſoon after *dyed thereof*; Amongſt theſe was one *George Felt* much lamented, who had been more active then any man in thoſe parts againſt the Indians, but at the laſt he loſt *his own Life* amongſt them, in this *too deſperate* an Adventure.

The Indians growing more bold by theſe Attempts in thoſe remote places, drew down nearer towards *Paſcataqua*, for not long after a party of

of them came upon *Cape Nidduck*, where they *killed and carryed away* all the Inhabitants of a few ſcattering houſes, to the number of *ſeven in all*, and ſuch was their *Salvage Cruelty exerciſed* in this place, as is not uſually heard of, for having *daſhed out the brains of a poor woman that gave ſuck*, they *nayled the young Child* to the *dead body of its mother*, which was found ſucking in that *rueful manner*, when the People came to the place. The day before a man and his wife were killed by them at *Wells*, and two men more ſoon after. On the *twelfth of October* following near *an hundred* of the Indians made an Aſſault upon *Black point*, all the Inhabitants being gathered into *one fortifyed place* upon that point, which a few hands might have defended againſt all the Indians on that *ſide of the Country*. But as it ſeems, one called *Mugg* was the Leader of the Indians; one that had from a *Child* been well acquainted with the *Engliſh*, and had lived ſome years in Engliſh Families, who though a *cunning Fellow*, and had prevailed much in his Attempts, yet at this time ſhewed more Courteſy to the *Engliſh*, then according to former Outrages could be expected from any of thoſe *barbarous miſcreants*; and was willing to make offer of *a Treaty* to *Mr. Joſſelin*, chief of the Garriſon, to whom the ſaid *Mugg* promiſed liberty for all that were there, to depart with their goods upon the *ſurrender of the place*: The ſaid *Joſſelin* reports, that when he came back from his treating with *Mugg*, that all the People were fled away out of the Garriſon, having carryed away their goods by water before his return, in ſo much that having none but his *Houſehold Servants* to ſtand by him, he was capable to make no Reſiſtance, and ſo *ſurrendred*.

When People have once *been frighted* with Reports and Senſe of danger, they are ready to *fly away* like a *Hart* before the *Hunter* or his *Hounds*, one of the Inhabitants of the place affirmed he ſaw *an hundred and fifty* Indians, which was more by *an hundred* than any body elſe ever ſaw near the Fort. But when a place is *deſigned to Ruine*, every thing they take in hand ſhall tend that way.

The loſs of *Black point* was accompanyed with another ſad Accident, that *fell out* about the ſame time at *Richmonds Iſland*. For young *Mr. Fryer* with ſome others at *Paſcataqua*, to whom it ſeemed grievous that the Indians ſhould make *all that Spoyle* in every place in thoſe *farther Plantations*, ventured upon the great Importunity of *Mr. Shendal*, with a *Ketch* to try what they could ſave of ſuch things that the Indians had left. But things were ſo ordered, that before they had *laden their Ketch*, coming too near the *Stage head*, they preſently found themſelves in danger of a *ſurprizal*, for part of their Company being a

ſhore

ſhore, were *ſeized* by the Indians, or in *danger thereof*, whom they were not willing to leave behind; and beſides the wind blowing in hard upon them, they could not *get out of the Harbour*, but were forced to abide the danger of an Aſſault. The Indians getting many of them into the *ſtage head* annoyed them ſo faſt with their *ſhot*, that not a man of them was able to look *above deck*, but he was in danger of being *ſhot down*, amongſt the reſt *Mr. James Fryer* venturing too much *in view* of the Enemy received *a wound* in his *knee*, which *appeared* not *dangerous* at the firſt, but for want of *better looking to*, then could be found amongſt that *black Regiment*, into whoſe hands he ſoon after fell; It *proved Mortal unto him*, within a *few dayes after*: he being by a *ſtrange Accident* brought home to his *Fathers houſe* at the great *Iſland* in *Paſcataqua*. *Mr. Fryer* being thus wounded, the reſt of the Company defended themſelves for a while with much Courage and Reſolution, till they were brought to the ſad choice of *falling into the hands* of one of theſe three bad Maſters, the Fire, the water, or the *Barbarous Heathen*, to whom at laſt they thought it beſt to yield, in hope of liberty afterwards, at leaſt of lengthning out their lives a little longer, for the Indians had *manned* out a *Canoo* with ſeveral hands to *cut their Cable*, and others ſtood ready within the defence of the ſtage head to fire upon any one that ſtirred in the *Ketch*, by which means the Veſſel after the Cable was cut ſoon drave a ſhore; and then was it threatned to be preſently burned, if they did not all yield, to which they all at laſt conſented.

The Indians how barbarous ſoever in their own nature, yet civilly intreated their Priſoners, and upon farther diſcourſe ſent one or two of them to *Paſcataqua*, to give them there an opportunity *to Ranſome* their Friends. The perſons ſent home to procure a Ranſome, were to return with ſuch a quantity of goods as the Indians had deſired; by ſuch a preciſe time: but they that brought the things for their Ranſome, coming a day or two before the time, when thoſe that ſent them were gone up the River at *Black point*, and not returned: Some other Indians waiting for ſuch an opportunity *ſeized the goods*, at leaſt that part which they moſt deſired, and through miſtake, killing one of the three men that brought them, diſmiſſed the other two, without return of the Priſoners as was expected.

As to what hapned afterward, we are yet much in the dark, and for the preſent can write but by gueſs: for within a few dayes after the return of *Mr. Shendal*, and the other man that went to carry the Ranſome, before *November* 1. *Mugg* himſelf came to *Paſcataqua*,

cataqua, bringing *Mr. James Fryer*, who ſoon after dyed of his wound, one of the Priſoners along with him complaining that *without his knowledge* ſome of the Indians had ſeized what was ſent for the *Ranſome* of the reſt, promiſing upon *his Faith*, that he would make good his word for the ſending home all the Priſoners, and offered alſo in the Name of the other Indians, to confirm a *new Peace* with the *Engliſh* for the future: The *Major General* of the *Maſſachuſets Colony* was then at *Paſcataqua*, but not willing to *Tranſact* a matter of that nature and moment by his *ſole Authority*, ordered the ſaid *Mugg* (ſuppoſed to be the *chief Leader* of the Indians) to be carryed down to *Boſton* to *the Governour and Councel there*, to conclude the buſineſs, with whom he ſoon after agreed upon a *firm Peace* with the *Engliſh* of the *Maſſachuſets* in the Name of *Madockawando*, the chief of all the Indians *in the Eaſtern parts* about *Penobſcot*, engaging alſo to remain himſelf, as *hoſtage* aboard the *Veſſel* (in which he was ſent home from *Boſton November the 21ſt. following*) until the Priſoners (which are ſaid to be *fifty or ſixty* that they have ſtill in their hands) be ſent home, and the reſt of the *Articles* performed. The Iſſue of which we as yet *wait to hear* in Gods good time, this *12th. of December* following, *1676.* when they there have made an end of the reckoning, 'tis hoped we may have our right again.

There are two *principal Actors* amongſt the Indians that have all along promoted theſe deſignes amongſt them, one named *Squando, Sagamore of Saco*, and the forementioned *Madockawando*, the chief Commander of the Indians *Eaſtward* about *Penobſcot*, who are ſaid to be, by them that know them, a *ſtrange kind* of *moralized Salvages. Grave and Serious* in their Speech and Carriage, and not without ſome ſhew of a *kind of Religion*, which no doubt but they have learned from *the Prince of darkneſs*, (by the help of ſome papiſt in thoſe parts) that can *Transform himſelf into an Angel of Light*; under that ſhape, the better to carry on the deſignes of his Kingdome. It is ſaid alſo, they pretend to have *received ſome Viſions* and *Revelations*, by which they have been commanded to *worſhip the great God*, and not to *work on the Lords day*. We know where *that Fountain* hath its Riſe, that ſendeth forth at the ſame place *ſweet and bitter waters*. And from whence their hearts are inſpired, that joyn bleſſing of God, with curſing and killing his Servants.

It is reported by ſome that came lately from thoſe parts, that the Indians there do as yet refuſe to have any peace with the *Engliſh*, and will not as yet return any of our Captive Friends, till God ſpeak to the foreſaid *Enthuſiaſts*, that are *their Leaders*, that they ſhould *no longer make warr with us*, and the like.

But

But not to trouble our ſelves farther with thoſe *Miniſters of Satan*, or thoſe that are acted by the *Angel of the bottomleſs pit*, (who poſſibly ſince their *deluſions* are but *two fold more* the *Children of Hell* then they *were before*.) We know better how to underſtand the mind of the *great Lord of Heaven & Earth* then to depend on ſuch *lying Oracles*.

That God who hath at preſent *turned their hearts* to *hate his People*, and *deal ſubtilly* with his *Servants*; we hope in his time, will either *turn the ſtream*, and cauſe them to deal *friendly* and *ſincerely* with his People, as *heretofore*, or give us an opportunity to *deſtroy them*.

In the next place it remains, that ſome account be given of *our Forces* under *Captain Hathorne*, and of their *ſeveral Expeditions* into the *Eaſtern parts*, ſince the middle of *September laſt*; firſt up toward *Caſco*, by the *Sea-ſide*, then afterwards *through the woods* directly *Northward*, toward *Oſſapy*, and *Pigwaucket*, in hope to have found the Enemy there at their *head Quarters*.

Upon the firſt Report of thoſe *Devaſtations* and *Spoyls* that had been made by *Fire and Sword* in thoſe *Eaſtern Plantations*. It was judged neceſſary to ſend ſome Forces that way to put a ſtop unto the *current* of thoſe *Outrages*, before the *Remainders* of the *Southern* Indians could have opportunity to joyn with them: To that end about an *hundred and thirty Engliſh*, with *forty Indians* were dispatched away into thoſe parts, under the Command of *Captain William Hathorne*, *Captain Syl*, and *Captain Hunting*, who were to joyne with ſuch as could be raiſed in thoſe parts, under *Major Waldern*, and *Captain Froſt*: After they had ſurprized the Indians that flocked into thoſe parts, (as was Related before) which was done upon *September the 6th. 1676. Captain Hathorne* who was *Commander in chief*, marched the Forces by the *Sea-ſide* towards *Caſco*; For at that time they were upon ſome demurre, whether to march directly toward *Oſſapy*, and *Pigwaucket*, where the *head Quarters* of the Enemy was ſuppoſed to be, or elſe to march directly toward *Caſco Bay*, where they heard *Parties* of the Enemy were daily *ſpoyling the Plantations* of the Engliſh; At the laſt it was judged *moſt Expedient* to try if they could not meet with ſome partyes of the Enemy amongſt thoſe *Plantations* near the Sea-ſide, by that means at leaſt to prevent them from doing more miſchief if they could not find an opportunity to *fall upon* ſome of them, and *deſtroy them*: But their time was not yet come, nor were all the *Deſolations* as yet *accompliſhed*, which God had a purpoſe to *bring about* by their means. For notwithſtanding there was a *ſufficient Force* to have ſuppreſſed all the numbers of the Enemy, if they had been many more

than they were; yet being *emboldened* and *grown ſubtle* by their *former ſucceſſes*, they had ſo diſperſed themſelves all about the woods in thoſe parts, that when our Forces were in one place, they would be in another, and ſo did much miſchief thereabouts, while our Souldiers were *out after them*: For after they had by ſeveral ſteps in *ten dayes* time gotten to *Caſco*, from *Newechewannick* (about the *eight of September*) they marched to *Wells*, and from *Wells* to *Winter Harbour*, and ſo from thence to *Black point* they paſſed by water, and then arrived at *Caſco Bay*, about the *twentieth of September*, yet about that very time, were ſeveral of the Engliſh *cut off* at *Mount joyes Iſland*, and that in *ſight of our Forces*, when they were not able to come at them, for want of *Boat*, the *Iſland* lying *two Leagues* off in the *Bay*; This hapned the *twenty third* of the ſame month, as was ſaid before, and within *two dayes* after, another party of the *Enemy* were doing miſchief at *Wells*, and *Cape Nidduck*, and yet eſcaped away, when they had done.

Nor could *our Forces* in all *their Expedition* meet with any of them, but *two*; one of which ſoon after he was taken, was let goe, by the *Treachery* or *Careleſſneſs* of them that held him. For when our Forces were come within a *few miles* of the hither ſide of *Caſco Bay*, ſome of our *Natick Indian Scouts* going in Company with the Indians under *Blind Will*, (a *Sagamore* of *Paſcataqua*, who went in Company with eight of his men, ſuppoſed to be *good Pilots* for the places more *Eaſtward*) met with ſome of the Enemy, and laid hold of *a couple* of them; *Juſtice* was done upon *one of them*, the other, although he was led by two of *Blind Wills Indians*, they made a ſhift to *let goe*, who eſcaping away, got over a River, and gave notice to the Indians who were on the other ſide, & were heard but a little before *threſhing in a Barne* that belonged to one *Anthony Bracket*, (whom they had lately ſurprized) Another diſappointment our Forces met withal about the ſame time, for when *Captain Hatborne* was up at *Caſco Bay* with his Souldiers, he never could come up with the Indians, either through want of Skill in them that were his *Scouts*, or rather want of Faithfulneſs in one that *ſhould have been his guide*, who had got his living by *Trading with the Indians*, therefore ſeemed unwilling to have the *Brood of them* deſtroyed: As was known afterwards. And by that means *a party* of the Enemy eſcaped the hands of *our Souldiers*. Yet it pleaſed God at one time to bring the *Forlorne of our Forces* upon a party of the Enemy, who eſpying the *Engliſh*, preſently *fled away* into the woods, like ſo many *wild Deer*, yet one of them, *viz.* that *J. Sampſon* who had been of the Company, that killed *Robinſon* the year before, was by the

ſpecial

ſpecial hand of Divine Juſtice, ſuffered to fall, by ſome of *our Forces*: He was a *very luſty, ſtout man*, and one that was armed with *ſeveral ſorts of Weapons*, but there is no *Weapon* ſhall defend them, whom death hath a *Commiſſion* to deſtroy: There is no *Ranſome in that War*: The reſt of the Indians that were ſcattered about *Caſco Bay*, having diſcovered our Forces, made their eſcape: But, we hope their time is ſhort, and that God will find ſome way to cut off the *bloody* and *deceitful Enemies* of his People, and not ſuffer them to *live out half their dayes*.

But by one ſuch Accident or other; *our Souldiers* could not meet with any of them that had done all the miſchief about thoſe parts. And while our Forces lay about *Caſco Bay*; A ſmall party of the Enemy came down upon the Borders of the Town of *Wells*, where they *lay in Ambuſh* near a Garriſon houſe, at one end of the Town, and ſhot down *Mr. James Gouge* from his horſe, *September the twenty fourth*, being *Lords day*, as he was going home from *the Meeting*; and then *knocked down his wife*, giving her ſeveral wounds with their Hatchets about the head, of which ſhe dyed within three dayes after.

The next day *September the twenty fifth*, the ſame party being not above *ſeven* in number went toward *Yorke*, and ſurprized *Cape Niddock* in a barbarous manner, killing moſt of the poor people belonging thereunto: Some of their Neighbours hearing of the Guns, came to *their Reſcue*: The Indians being on the further ſide of a River, dared them to come over and *fight with them man to man*: uſing ſeveral Reproachful Tearms to them, making a Shot at them alſo, which ſome of the Company not being able to bear, did *very reſolutely adventure* through the River after them; but they were not willing to *try the valour* of the *Engliſh*; when they perceived they *found a way* to paſs over the *River upon them*, but returned back towards *Wells*; where they killed another, one *George Farrow*, *September the twenty ſeventh*, as he was too careleſsly venturing to his houſe without any Company: Theſe things hapned while our Forces were at *Caſco*, where they tarryed ſeven or eight dayes. And hearing of theſe Outrages committed in ſome of thoſe places which they left behind them; and not being able to meet with any of them in the place where they were, they returned back toward *Wells*, and *Yorke*; but the Indians were eſcaped away into the woods after their Companions, before they came there: Our Souldiers having thus ſpent much time and pains in a fruitleſs Expedition toward *Caſco*, they reſolved to venture *another march* after them, up towards *Oſſapy*, ſuppoſing they might by that time be drawn homewards toward

their *Winter Quarters*; or elſe, that they might deſtroy what they had left behind them, to *prevent their harbouring there* for the future: But it ſeemed good to him, who by his Sovereign Power and Infinite wiſdom ordereth all Events and purpoſes (wherein his People or others are concerned) to *diſappoint all endeavours* uſed at that time for the ſuppreſſing of the Enemy, or putting any ſtop to their wonted Succeſſes: For ſoon after our Forces were returned back from *Caſco*, news was brought of the *ſurprizal* of *Black point*, on the *twelfth of October*, as was mentioned before; which notwithſtanding; It was judged more adviſeable to venture and proceed on with the Expedition toward *Oſſapy*, (whether it was ſuppoſed by this time, the greateſt number of them were retired) rather then to return back again to recover *Black point*, where was nothing to be expected but an empty Fort, and ſome deſerted houſes, which it ſeems the Indians had forſaken by that time.

And beſides that other *Forces* were about the ſame time ordered to *repair* thither, ſufficient for the repairing & ſecuring of the place with what elſe was left remaining from the hands of the *Enemy*; And likewiſe ſeveral Souldiers were ordered to Garriſon the Towns thereabouts, to prevent them from making any further Aſſault upon them. However, they were ſo far emboldned by the taking of *black point*, and the *Ketch* at *Richmond Iſland* with ſeveral Priſoners alſo which were ſurprized at the ſame time; That a party of them came the very next week after, toward *Wells*, hoping to attain that, and all the Towns, and places elſe betwixt *Caſco Bay* and *Paſcataqua*, as they had done *black point*. For a party of them under *Mugg* their *chief Leader*, brought *Mr. Shendal* along with them to *Wells*, where they *ſummoned* the *firſt Garriſon* at the Towns end. To facilitate the buſineſs, they ſent the ſaid *Shendal* as their *Agent*, or Meſſenger to move them to *ſurrender*, without hazarding an onſet; But the People were not ſo deſpondent, to yield up the place upon ſo ſlight an occaſion; which when the *Enemy* diſcerned, they ſoon drew off, after they had done ſome little miſchief to the Inhabitants: For firſt they killed *Iſaack Littlefield* not far from the Garriſon, It is ſaid, they would willingly have had him *yield himſelf Priſoner*, but he refuſing, they ſhot him down, yet they were ſo Civil, as to ſuffer his Friends to *fetch away his body*, without offering any further act of Inhumanity to it, or *Hoſtility* toward them that *fetcht it off*. An *old man* called *Croſs*, was killed by them likewiſe about the ſame time, and another, *Joſeph Bigford* by name, belonging to the Garriſon, was ſorely wounded at that time, ſo as he dyed ſoon after: *Thirteen* head of *neat Cattle* were alſo killed by them, out of which they only for haſte, took the *Tongues*, leaving the bodies of all the *reſt*

whole

whole to the *Owners*, unleſs it were *the Leg* of one of them, which was alſo taken away.

This was all the miſchief was done by them, after the taking of *Black point*: The Inhabitants of *Winter Harbour*, near adjoyning thereto, being alarmed with the ſurprizal of the other place; fled away with *their goods*, for a time; till they heard the Enemies were removed farther *Eaſtward*, and then it was ſaid, they returned to their place again; In this poſture have things in thoſe places remained ever ſince, in thoſe *Eaſtern Plantations* betwixt *Paſcataqua* and *Caſco* Bay.

But our Forces under the Command of *Captain Hathorne*, and *Captain Syl*, having at the laſt obtained all things neceſſary for a *Winter march* into the woods, did upon the *firſt of November* following, ſet forth toward *Oſſapy*, where, after *four dayes march* of very *difficult way*, over many Rivers, not eaſy to paſs at that time of the year, they arrived; but found *never an Indian*, either there, or in the way, as they marched along: The Indians belonging to thoſe parts, had not many years before hired ſome *Engliſh Traders* to build them a *Fort*, for their ſecurity againſt the *Mohawks*, which was built *very ſtrong* for that purpoſe *fourteen Foot* high with *Flankers* at each corner. But at this time the Souldiers *intending to diſappoint them* of *their Refuge*, made *Fuel thereof*, which at that time was very *needful for our People*, who had marched many miles *through deep Snow* in a very *cold Seaſon*, when they could hardly keep themſelves from *freezing* as they paſſed along, ſo early in the *Winter*: None of the Enemy being to be found there in their *ſtrongeſt Fort*; It was not counted worth the while for all the Company to *march any farther*: Wherefore a ſmall party being ſent up *eighteen or twenty miles* farther *Northward* amongſt the woods, whereas they paſſed along they met with many *vaſt Lakes*, (ſuppoſed to be the Cauſe of the *ſharpneſs of the cold*, in that ſide of the Country) making the place *ſcarce habitable* for any beſides thoſe *Salvages* that uſe to *hunt thereabouts*, for *Mooſe* in the *Winter*, and *Beaver* in the *Summer*, (a ſort of Creatures, whoſe Skins are of more Account than all their bodies.) But at this time it is ſuppoſed they were all gone lower toward the Sea ſide, *to ſhare the Spoyls* of the Engliſh Plantations, lately ſurprized by them; which is all the *Reward* they have met withal, who in former years, for the ſake of a little Lucre by Traffick with them, have run themſelves there into the very *jaws of deſtruction*, either by Irregular dealing with them; or by their too much confidence in their *deceitful Friendſhip*.

November the ninth, our Forces having ſpent *nine dayes* in this Service, returned ſafe to *Newechewannick*, from whence they ſet forth at the firſt, having

having run more *hazard of their Limbs*, by the *ſharpneſs of the Froſt*, than of *their lives* by any *Aſſault* from their Enemies.

There was great probability that the deſigne might have had ſome good Effect, if *Mugg* a *chief Leader* of them, did not much abuſe thoſe he fled unto, with a *proffer of Peace*; for he told them that there were about an hundred of them about *Oſſapy*, not many dayes before: But it becomes us to look beyond *ſecond Cauſes*, in Events of this nature; and conclude, that *God had raiſed up* theſe Barbarous Enemies to bring *a like Chaſtiſement* upon the Engliſh in this *ſide of the Country*, with that which others had endured elſewhere, in the end of the former, and beginning of this preſent year.

Whereas mention was formerly made of a *Peace concluded* at *Boſton* betwixt the *Governour and Council* of the *Maſſachuſets*, and *Mugg* an *Eaſtward Indian*, in the name of *Madockawando* chief *Sagamore* of all the Indians about *Pemmaquid* and *Penobſcot*; which ſaid *Mugg*, was ſent from *Boſton*, *November the 21.ſt* with *two Veſſels*, to receive the *Priſoners* there detained by the Indians, and alſo to ſee the *Ratification* of the *ſeveral Articles* of the ſaid peace concluded upon. Which *Articles* for the better ſatisfaction of thoſe that have not been acquainted with them, are thoubgt fit here to be *Inſerted*.

Boſton, Novemb. the 6th. 1676.

Covenants and Agreements made and concluded by, and between the GOVERNOUR *and* COUNCIL *of the* Maſſachuſets Colony *in* New-England *of the one part: and* Mugg *Indian, in the Name and behalf of* Madockawando, *and* Cheberrina *Sachems of* Penobſcot, *on the other part. Witneſſeth.*

Impr. WHereas the ſaid *Mugg* hath been ſent & imployed by the ſaid *Sachems* upon a *Treaty* with the ſaid *GOVERNOUR* and *COUNCIL* relating to a Concluſion of Peace, doth hereby Covenant and engage for himſelf, and in behalf of the *ſaid Sachems*, that from henceforth they will ceaſe all *Acts of Hoſtility*, and hold an *entire* and *firm Union*, and *Peace* with all the *Engliſh* of the *Colonyes* in *New-England*.

2dly. That immediately upon the ſaid *Muggs Return*, the *ſaid Sachems* ſhall deliver up unto ſuch *Engliſh man*, or *men*, as ſhall by order of

of the ſaid *Governour* and *Council*, be ſent with him, all ſuch *Engliſh Captives*, *Veſſels*, and *Goods* whatſoever, *Arms* and *great Artillery* belonging to the *Engliſh*, as are in their *Cuſtody*, or under their *power*, as have been taken from them during the time of the *late Hoſtility*.

3*dly*. That they will uſe their uttermoſt endeavour with all poſſible ſpeed to procure pay; wherewith to make full ſatisfaction unto the *Engliſh* for all ſuch *Injuries*, *Loſſes*, and *Damages*, as they have ſuſtained by them, in their *houſing*, *Cattle*, or other *Eſtate*, during the time of the *late Hoſtility*; or elſe to pay ſuch a number of Beaver *Skins* yearly, in order thereunto, as ſhall be agreed on between the *ſaid Sachems*, and ſuch perſon or perſons as ſhall be ſent unto them from the ſaid *Governour* and *Council* for the *Ratification* hereof, to be paid at ſuch time and place as ſhall be then agreed upon.

4*ly*. That upon Condition of the Engliſh furniſhing of them with *Powder* and *Amunition* for their *neceſſary Supplyes* and *maintenance*, they do *Covenant* and *promiſe* not to Trade for, or buy any *Powder*, or *Amunition*, but of ſuch perſons as ſhall from time to time be *deputed* by the *Governour* for that end.

5*ly*. That if it do appear that *Walter Gendal* and the men ſent with him in the *Veſſel* from *Paſcataqua* (with Goods from *Mr. Fryer* for the *Redemption of the Captives* according to Agreement) or any of them are ſurprized and ſlain by any of their *Indians*, or any others whom they can bring under their power, that they ſhall forthwith Execute ſuch *Murtherer*, or *Murtherers*, or otherwiſe, deliver them up into the hands of the Engliſh.

6*ly*: That if the *Amonos-Coggin*, or any other Indians in the *Eaſtern parts*, that are in *Hoſtility* with the Engliſh, ſhall not fully Conſent unto theſe *Covenants* and *Agreements*, but ſhall perſiſt in *Acts of Hoſtility* againſt the Engliſh, that then the *ſaid Sachems* ſhall, and will hold all ſuch Indians to be their Enemies, and take up *Arms* againſt them, and engage them as ſuch.

Laſtly, The ſaid *Mugg* as a *Pledge* and *Aſſurance* of his own *Fidelity*, and that he is *impowred* by the *ſaid Sachems* for the end aforeſaid, and for the performance of the *aforementioned Agreements*, doth *freely* and *willingly depoſite himſelf*, and his *Life* in the hands of the Engliſh; to remain with them as a *Hoſtage* until the *ſaid Captives*, *goods* and Veſſels ſhall be delivered up.

Boſton, Novemb. 13. 1676. The mark of
Signed in the Preſence of *Mugg W* Indian

Iohn Earthy.
Richard Oliver.
Iſaack Addington.

The ſaid *Mugg* lifting up his hand to *Heaven* for the true *performance* thereof, eſteemed amongſt them, a *ſtrong Obligation* to perform what they promiſe.

Things were ſo ordered by the *good Providence of God*, that the ſaid *Veſſels* arrived ſafely at *Penobſcot* in the beginning of the next month, where they found the ſaid *Madockawando*, who was ready to confirm and make good the *Articles of the Peace* concluded at *Boſton* by his *Agent* in his Name; And was willing alſo to deliver all *the Priſoners* that were then in *his Power*, or under his *Command*, which were but *two*, who were taken in the Veſſel at *Richmonds Iſland*, the *twelfth of October* laſt. The ſaid *Mugg* likewiſe being ſenſible of the *Obligation* he lay under, to make good his word, did *venture to go up* himſelf to another *Plantation* of the Indians, where was ſuppoſed ſome more of the *Engliſh Priſoners* were, to ſee whether he could obtain *their Releaſe*, as alſo to *perſwade with the reſt* of the Indians thereabouts to joyne in the *confirmation of the Peace*; It appeared to the perſons belonging to the Veſſels, that the ſaid *Mugg* went with ſome *Reluctancy*, as fearing the Indians he was going amongſt, would either *kill him*, or *keep him Priſoner*; To which end, he ordered the *Commanders* belonging to the *Veſſels* to tarry for him, about *three dayes*, or *four at the moſt*, aſſuring them, that if he did not return by that time, they might *certainly conclude* that either *his Life or Liberty* was taken from him; However the Veſſels tarried *about* or near *a week* beyond the time *limited*, in expectation

tion of his coming; But after *ſo long ſtay*, they neither ſeeing, nor hearing from him, were ready to *fear the worſt*, *viz.* that his Country men had *made him ſure* from having more to do with the *Engliſh*: Whereupon for fear of being *ſhut up* by the *ſharpneſs* of the *Winter* from returning themſelves, they took the opportunity of the next *fair wind* of ſetting Sayle for *Boſton*, (only turning in to *Pemmaquid* to ſee if they could hear any *farther News* there) where they arrived with *ſuch Priſoners*, as were freely delivered by *Madockawando*, the *twenty fifth of December following*, *Anno*, *1676*. Amongſt which Priſoners, beſides the two forementioned, who were found at *Penobſcot*, there was a third, by a more *remarkable Providence* then ordinary, added unto them, *Mr. Thomas Cobbet*, Son of that *Reverend* and *worthy Miniſter* of the *Goſpel*, *Mr. Thomas Cobbet* (*Paſtor* of the Church at *Ipswitch*, a Town within the *Maſſachuſets Jurisdiction*) who had all the time of his *Sons Captivity* together with his friends *wreſtled with God* in their *daily Prayers* for his *Releaſe*, and accordingly he was with the more *joy received* by his friends, as an *Anſwer* and *Return* of their *Prayers*. The ſaid young man had lived with *Mr. Fryer*, *Merchant* of *Portsmouth* for ſome years before, and had been oft at Sea with *Mr. James Fryer* the eldeſt Son of the ſaid *Merchant*, and who had after much Experience of *his Faithfulneſs*, *dexterity*, and *Courage* on all ſuch Accompts, borne him ſo much Reſpect, that when he was urged by his Father to go along with *Mr. Shendal*, as was ſaid before, he would not venture unleſs his Friend *Thomas Cobbet* would go along with him; *the which Service* he only for his Friends ſake accepted, which proved a *fatal Adventure* to *Mr. James Fryer*, and might have done to the other alſo, had not God otherwiſe *diſpoſed of him*, having, as is hoped, *more Service* for him in the *Land of the living*. Amongſt all the Priſoners at that time taken, the ſaid *Thomas Cobbet* ſeemed to have had the *hardeſt portion*: For beſides the *deſperate dangers* that he eſcaped, before he was taken. *Firſt*, by a *bullet*, ſhot through his *Waſt-Coat*. *Secondly*, by a *drunken Indian*, who had a *knife* at his *Throat* to *cut it*, when his *hands* were *bound*, when the Indians came to *ſhare the Priſoners* amongſt them, he fell into the hands of one of the *ruggeddeſt Fellows*, by whom within a few dayes after *his ſurprizal*, he was carryed firſt from *Black point*, to *Shipscot River* in the *Ketch*, which the Indians made them to Sayle for them, into the *ſaid River*, from thence he was forced *to travel* with his *Pateroon Four or five miles* over land to *Damariscottee*, where he was compelled *to row or paddle* in a *Canoo* about *fifty five miles* farther to *Penobſcot*, and there *taking leave* of all his Engliſh Friends and

acquaintance, at leaſt for the *Winter*, he was put to *paddle a Canoo* up *fifty* or *ſixty miles* farther *Eaſtward*, to an *Iſland* called Mount *Deſart*, where his *Pateroon* uſed to keep his *winter ſtation*, and to appoint his *hunting Voyages*; and in that *Deſart-like* Condition was the *poor young man* forced to continue *nine weeks* in the Service of a *Salvage miſcreant*, who ſometimes would *Tyrannize* over him, becauſe he could not underſtand *his Language*, and for want thereof, might occaſion him to *miſs of his Game*, or the like. What ever ſickneſs he was obnoxious unto, by *change of dyet*, or other account, he could expect no other *allowance* than the *Wigwam* will afford: If *Joſeph* be in the Priſon, ſo long as *God is with him* there, he ſhall be preſerved, and in due time remembred.

After the end of the *nine weeks*, the Indian whom he was to ſerve, had ſpent all his *powder*, whereupon on the ſudden he took up a *Reſolution* to ſend this *young man* down to *Penobſcot* to *Monſiure Caſteen* to procure more *powder* to kill *Mooſe and Dear*, which it ſeems is all their way of living at Mount *Deſart*; The Indian was certainly *over ruled by Divine providence* in ſending *his Captive* down thither, for a few dayes before, as it ſeems, after the Indians in that place, had been *powawing together*, he told him, that there were *two Engliſh Veſſels* then come into *Pemmequid*, or *Penobſcot*, which proved ſo indeed: yet was it *not minded* by him ſurely, when he ſent *his Captive* thither for *powder*, for it proved the means of *his eſcape*; which his *Pateroon* might eaſily have *conjectured*, if it had not been hid from him As ſoon as he Arrived at *Penobſcot*, he met with *Mugg*, who preſently ſaluted him by the Name of Mr. *Cobbet*, and taking him by the hand, told him, he had been at his *Fathers houſe*, (which was *November the firſt or ſecond* before, as he paſſed through *Ipſwitch to Boſton*) and had promiſed to ſend him home, ſo ſoon as he returned. *Madockawando* taking notice of what *Mugg* was ſpeaking that way, although he were willing that he ſhould be releaſed according to Agreement, (his *Pateroon* being one of this *Sagamores Subjects*, though during the *Hunting Voyage* of the *winter*, he lived at ſuch a diſtance from him) began to *demand ſomething* for *ſatisfaction*, in a way of *Ranſome*, not underſtanding before that his Father was, *a great Preachman*, as they uſe to call it: Reply was made to him, that he ſhould have ſomething in *lieu of a Ranſome*, *viz.* a *fine Coat*, which they had for him *aboord the Veſſel*; the which the *Sagamore* deſired to ſee, before he would *abſolutely grant* his Releaſe: but upon ſight of the *ſaid Coat*, he ſeemed very well ſatisfied, and gave him *free liberty to return* home. Whilſt this Mr. *Thomas Cobbet* was a

Priſoner

Priſoner at *Mount Deſart* going along with the Indians *to hunt*, in an extream *cold day*; he was ſo overcome with the *ſharpneſs thereof*, that all his *Senſes* were ſuddenly *benummed*, ſo as he *fell down* upon the *Snow*, not being able to ſtir hand or foot, and had without doubt there *periſhed* in a little time but that the Indians he was going along with, *miſſing him*, preſently *ran about* the *woods* to *ſeek him*, and when they found him, they were either *ſo pitiful* to him, or *ſo careful* of their own good, as not to *caſt away* a likely *young man*, from whom they expected either *much ſervice*, or a *good Ranſome*, for want of a *little Care*, and pains to preſerve his life; wherefore, taking him upon *their ſhoulders*, they carryed him into the *next Wigwam*, ſo as he ſoon after *revived*, and *came to himſelf* again, without any farther miſchief.

At another time, the *Salvage Villain* whoſe Priſoner he was, ſo long as he had *ſtrong Liquor*, for *five dayes together* was *ſo drunke*, that he was like a *furious mad Beaſt*, ſo as none durſt come near him, his *Squaws* he almoſt *brained* in one of thoſe *drunken fits*.

The ſaid *Thomas* was forced to get out of his ſight into the *woods* all that night, for fear of being miſchiefed by him. Where making a fire he kept himſelf alive: The *Squaws* being by Gods ſpecial Providence ſo *inclined to pity*, that they came to him daily *with Victuals*, by which means he was at that time alſo preſerved: All which put together, makes his Deliverance *the more Remarkable, as an Anſwer of prayer*.

As for the *Reſt of the* Priſoners, (which are ſaid to be *fifty* or *ſixty*) They were left with them who firſt *ſurprized them* at *Kennibeck*, and *Shipicot River*: The *Women* are imployed it ſeems to *ſew* and *make Garments* for them; They having *plundered* much *Engliſh goods* at *Arowſick*. They are ſo much *elevated* with their *late ſucceſſes*, in ſpoyling ſo many of the *Engliſh habitations*, that they ſeem not *very ready to hearken* to *Termes of peace*, as their *Sagamore Madockawando* doth deſire: Nor are the *Engliſh* able to come *near them* with any of their Forces *this Winter ſeaſon*, in regard both of *the Remoteneſs of the place*, and *ſharpneſs of the Cold*, which uſes to be *extream in thoſe parts*: How their hearts may *be inclined* in the following year, or what the *Engliſh* may be enabled to do *againſt them*, is known unto *God only*, on whom we *deſire to wait* for a *comfortable Iſſue* of *theſe our Troubles*. But until they have *ſpent* all the *plunder* that is taken, it is no doubt, but they will ſeem *averſe from having peace*; As others to the *Weſtward* did, whoſe *hearts were hardned againſt all proffers* of that nature, till they were *deſtroyed*; Poſſibly ſome Remnants of them that eſcaped in thoſe other parts, are *got hither* amongſt theſe, and do *animate them* all they can to

Hoſtility againſt us, till they make theſe as *miſerable* as *themſelves*, and ſo forced at the laſt to *fly their Country*. Many have been the *Troubles* we have met withal from theſe our *Barbarous Neighbours* round about us, but *God we truſt will deliver us out of them all*, as he hath promiſed to do for *the Righteous*, who may in the *darkeſt night* of *Affliction* ſay, *Light is ſown for them*, which ſhall *ſpring up* in the *appointed Time* thereof.

No farther News came to hand concerning the *Engliſh Priſoners* at *Kennibeck*, after the Return of *Captain Moor* from *Penobſcot*, till the *fifth of January*. When one *Francis Card* with another young man formerly an Inhabitant of ſome place about *Kennibeck*, or of *Arowſick*, (but then *a Priſoner* with the Indians,) made an eſcape from the Indians, and ſo got over *Caſco Bay*, and then to *Black point*, from thence he was conveighed to *Paſcataqua* ſoon after, and then to *Boſton*.

The manner of *his eſcape*, as he reports was this: He was imployed by the Indians to *threſh Corn* at a *Barn* a little lower in *the River*, than the place where the Indians *commonly kept* being truſted *alone*, to *go* and *come* of *himſelf*, becauſe there was no *ſuſpition* of any coming to carry him away, or *ſeeming poſſibility* to get away without being *diſcovered*, he found means to plot with another *young man*, who was ſent to *look horſes*; whoſe *fleſh* it ſeems is by thoſe *wild Salvages*, preferred before the *beſt Beef*, ſo as having their *choice of both*, they took what they *liked beſt*; And this being the Imployment of the *young man*, he had the fitter opportunity when he was in *the woods* to make any *Contrivance* to get away. Thus being reſolved upon their deſigne, they *provided neceſſaries accordingly*, and ſent ſuch a Meſſage home to *their Maſters*, as might occaſion them not to expect them very ſoon that night; Thus reſolved, they *marched away*, as ſoon as ever they perceived the *Coaſt was clear*; And having provided a *Canoo* accordingly fit for the deſigne, by the help of it they got over the waters, by which they were to paſs which were *not frozen*; And in the *night time* turned into a *Swampe*, where they might *make a fire* to keep them from *ſtarving with the Cold*, without being diſcerned; So as within *two or three dayes* they recovered the *Fort*, and *Garriſon* at *black point*, from whence they were ſoon conveighed to *Boſton*.

This *Francis Card* made this Relation of matters when he came to *Boſton*, *viz.* that the Priſoners which he left behind *were well*, and not *much miſuſed*, only put to do the *Servile work* about the Indians: woe muſt it needs be with *Chriſtians*, when put not only *to ſojourne*, but to ſerve in thoſe *Tents of Kedar*. Such of *the women* as were *gifted* at

knitting

knitting, and *Sewing*, were improved to make *stockings*, *and garments* for their *Pateroons*: So as it seems the *Ware house* at *Arowsick* furnished them with *Cloth*, *Stuff*, *and Linnen*, and the Inhabitants served for *Artificers* to cut it out, and make it up.

He reported also that the Indians *spake nothing of any Peace*; but rather being *heightned* with their *late and great Successes*, were *contriving* how to *get possession* of the *other places* in the hands of the English, on that side of the *Country*, which *God forbid should ever come to pass*; but finding so *easy work* of their *former Exploits*, they hope they shall *accomplish their purposes* with the *like facility* in all other places where they come.

It seems *Squando* is their *chief Leader*, that *Enthusiastical*, or rather *Diabolical Miscreant*; who yet hath put on a *garbe of Religion*, and orders his People to do the like; performing *Religious worship* amongst the Indians *in his way*, yet is supposed to have very *familiar Converse with the Devil*, that appears to him as *an Angel of Light* in some *shape* or other very frequently. This *Francis Card* also affirmeth, that there is nothing so great a *number of the Indians* as is here reported, for he saith, when they were going out upon *some designe*, while he was in their hands, he had an opportunity to *count them all*, and could find but *ninety eight* of them, that were men: Neither could he discern that there were any of the *Western Indians*, unless *Simon and Andrew*, that formerly escaped out of *Dover Prison*: Although it was before apprehended there were *multitudes of them flocked thither*.

Francis Card his Declaration of their Beginning, August the fourteenth.

The Indians came to *Richard Hammonds*, and there killed *Richard Hamond*, *Samuel Smith*, *Joshuah Grant*, there parting *their Company*, *eleven men* came up *Kennibeck River* to my house, and there *took me*, *and my Family*. Therefore the rest of their Company went to *Arowsick*, and there took the *Garrison*: about a *Fortnight after* came down *Kennibeck River*, and so went down to *Damaris Cove*, and there *burnt houses*, and *killed Cattel*, there coming back *parted their Company*, one party went to *Iewels Island*, and the other party went to *Saga-de-Hock*, being in number *eighty one*; Those that went to *Saga-de-Hock* took a *Shallop*, from thence came to *Kennibeck River*, and then went to *killing* and *destroying* of *Cattel* and *housing*, for they had Intelligence of a *Ketch* and a *Shallop* at *Damaris Cove*, and going there they *took the Shallop*, and *killed two men*, being in number about *eighty*; The next day made

up *their Forces*, went out to *Black point*, being about *one hundred fighting men*, and are now in *two Forts about ſixty at a place*, with *ſix or eight Wigwams* between the *two Forts*.

Now the beſt place to *land men* is in *Caſco Bay*, and in *Kennibeck River*, the one place being *eight miles*, the other about *fourteen miles* from the *Fort* where I was kept: And if the *Army* do not go now with ſpeed, they will be gone *forty miles* farther up in the Country; at the firſt taking of me they carryed me up to *Taconet*, and the men coming down they brought me and two men more down for fear of our killing their women and Children, for they kept their *Women* and *Children* at *Taconet* all the *Summer*. As ſoon as the *warm weather* doth ſet in, they do intend to go away to *Taconet*, and there to build *two Forts*, for there is their *fiſhing places*, and *planting ground*. *Squando* doth inform them that God doth ſpeak to him, and doth tell him that God hath left *our Nation* to them to *deſtroy*, and the Indians do take it for a Truth all that he doth tell them; becauſe they have met with *no Affront*. Now *Mugg the Rogue*, he being come again to the *Fort*, he doth *make his Brags* and *laughs at the Engliſh*, and ſaith, that he hath found the way to burn *Boſton*, and doth make *Laughter* at your *kind Entertainment*, they make their brags how they do intend to *take Veſſels*, and ſo to go to all the *fiſhing Iſlands*; and ſo to drive all the Country before them: ſo reckning to be a great Number in the Spring, there is a great many Indians at *Cannada* that have not been out this Summer, both of *Kennibeck* and *Damaraſcoggin*, therefore a great many of theſe Indians at *Kennibeck* do intend to go to *Cannada* in the Spring to them. And they do give Gifts both of *Captives*, and of Goods to the *Eaſtern Indians*, to have them to go out with them; but as yet I do not know what they will do. For *Madockawando* & *Squando* are of ſeveral Judgements, and ſo have parted, and *Madockawando* doth pretend love to the Engliſh, they do uſe our Engliſh Captives as Civilly as we can expect by ſuch a People. That this is Truth is declared by me *Francis Card*, *Jan. the 22. 1676.*

By the Report which he brings it doth not appear ſo difficult a matter to make an Attempt to recover the place, and deſtroy them that hold it, as was before apprehended: Inſomuch, as that deſigne, that was under debate before the GOVERNOUR *and* COUNCIL a little before, and was let fall for the preſent, as a matter not *Feaſible*, hath ſince been ſet a foot with a freſh Reſolution: And another thing alſo occurred about the ſame time, which put new Life into the ſaid deſigne, *viz.* an apprehenſion that there were ſeveral of the *Narraganſets*

Narrhaganſets ſcattered about in theſe woods near *Paſcataqua*, who it was feared might joyne with thoſe of *Kennibeck* in the Spring, and ſo come down upon the Engliſh Plantations, and ſpoyle them all that are thereabouts. For ſoon after *Francis Card* coming to *Boſton*, ſome of *Major Waldens* Indians at *Quechecho*, as they were hunting in the woods chanced to meet with three ſtrange Indians, the which had Guns, at leaſt *two of them*; but thoſe of *Quechecho* were without. The other Indians began to *inſinuate* into them, to ſee if they could make way for their acceptance with the *Engliſh*: Thoſe Indians that this motion was made unto, in a moſt *perfidious manner* gave them encouragement in the buſineſs,; And appointed a place where to meet them the *next day*, ſaying, they would not have them now *go home* with them to *their Wigwams*, leaſt their *Women* and *Children* ſhould be frighted with the ſight of their Guns; All which was ſpoken upon a Treacherous Accouut, by that means to *betray them*, for they had neither *Women nor Children* at their *Wigwams*; but not having Guns themſelves, as the other had, they durſt not then *ſeize upon them*: The *next day*, therefore according to Appointment, their gueſts expecting *a Treaty*, and a *Friendly Complyance*, (yet coming apart, as was *ordered* the day before to be *the more eaſily ſurpriz'd*) arrived at *the place Appointed*; And there preſently the firſt being thus *Treacherouſly brought into the ſnare* was *diſpatched out of hand*. The like was alſo done to the ſecond; The *third* was not at ſuch a diſtance, but he either diſcerned or ſuſpected, what became of his Fellows, and therefore made the more *haſt to eſcape*; but his deceitful Friends were too quick for him, who *ſhot him down* before he could get out of *their reach*: So as they took him *alive*, as is ſaid; but he could not live *much longer* by Reaſon of his wounds: Theſe *Quechecho* Indians cut off the Scalps of their poor Countrymen, (which is their uſual manner, when it is too far to carry the heads) which being brought to *Major Walderns* Indians, they were preſently diſcerned to be *Narrhaganſets* by the cut of their *hair*. This Inſtance is a ſufficient Evidence of the Subtilety, guile, and Falſhood natural to all theſe Indians; and may ſatisfie any Rational perſon, what little truſt there is to be put in their words, promiſes, or Engagements, though never ſo ſolemnly made, farther then they that make them ſee Advantage in the keeping and performing. Subtilety, malice, and Revenge, ſeems to be as inſeparable from them, as if it were part of their *Eſſence*.

What ever hopes may be of their Converſion to *Chriſtianity* in after Time, there is but little appearance of any *Truth* in their hearts at preſent, where ſo much of the contrary is ſo ordinarily breathed out of their mouths.

Theſe were the manners of the Gentiles in former times, while they remained *Children of Diſobedience*, until they were *renewed* after another *Image*: Nor are theſe *uncapable Subjects for Divine grace* to *work upon*, yet are there ſome *natural vices* proper to *every Nation* in the *world*, as *Paul* ſpeaks of the Grecians, from the *Teſtimony* of one of their own *Poets*: Κρῆτες ἀεὶ ψεῦσται, *&c.*

But to Return; Theſe things ſo *concurring*, and ſeveral Gentlemen from about *Paſcataqua* repayring to *Boſton*, ſo repreſented the ſtates of things *Eaſtward* before the GOVERNOUR and COUNCIL, as that it was apprehended not only *neceſſary*, but *Feaſible* alſo to *ſuppreſs* the foreſaid Indians in thoſe parts: Whereupon it was *forthwith concluded* that an Expedition ſhould be made againſt them; To which end *two hundred Souldiers*, whereof *about ſixty* were of the *Natick Indians*, that have given *good proof* of their *Valour*, and *Faithfulneſs* to the Engliſh; All which were immediately *diſpatched* away, the *firſt week in February* by *water*, under the *Conduct* of *Major Waldern* as Commander in chief; A perſon well approved for his *Activity*, as well as *Fidelity* and *Courage* in concernments of that nature: They had to Encounter with *Rough* and *contrary Winds*, and much *cold weather* the firſt *week* after their ſetting forth; But having ſo much Experience of the favour and goodneſs of the *Almighty*, who is wont alwayes to be preſent with his Servants in like Caſes, though he hath often for a time *deferred* for the *tryal of their Faith*, & exerciſe of their *patience*; yet uſeth not to *fail his people*, that put their truſt in him, and diligently ſeek his face; A ſolemn time being appointed for that end; To the which we expect a comfortable Anſwer: we that have ſent forth our Friends on the publick Service, being thus engaged to follow them with our Prayers, at the preſent in ſilence wait upon *the Lord of Hoſts* to give a bleſſing to the deſigne; Hoping our Friends in this neceſſary, though difficult Service, thus called forth, have gone out with the like Encouragement, and Reſolution, that ſometimes *Joab* did; *Let us be of good Courage, and play the men for our People, and for the Cauſe of our God; And let the Lord do that which ſeemeth him good.*

Upon the *eleventh of February* two *Indian Squaws*, that had run away from *Major Walderns* in the beginning of *winter*, out of *diſcontent*, becauſe *the husband* of one of them, and ſome of the Relations of the other were ſent away, came back again with more *wit*, than they carryed with them, though with leſs *fleſh upon their backs*: for having *wandred* up toward *Pigwacket*, till they were *almoſt ſtarved* there, they ſay, ſome Indians *were ſeen* by them, pretending they were *going to the head*

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on this *Project* before) firſt *tallowing the Maſt* with a *piece of fat Pork* left by the Indians, as high as he *could reach*; that he with his *own hands* might the more eaſily *hoyſe the Sayle*, ſo chooſing rather to *caſt himſelf* upon the *Providence of God* in the *waters*, than to *truſt himſelf* any longer with *perfidious Salvages* on the *dry Land*; he *came ſafe* to *Iſle of Shoales* before the Evening of the *next day*, *February the nineteenth*.

Within a few dayes after *John Abbot* aforeſaid, *made his eſcape* in the Veſſel; There came an expreſs from *Major Waldern* that *commanded in chief* over our *Forces* ſent to *Kennibeck* to ſubdue the Indians in thoſe parts, & deliver the *Engliſh Captives* that have been detained in their hands, ſince *Auguſt laſt*, which giveth *this Account* of their proceeding.

February the ſeventeenth, this morning the wind *North Eaſt*, ſoon after *South*, and *South Weſt*, we ſate Sayle with *our Veſſels* from *Black Point*, for *Portland*, but on the *Eaſt-ſide of Cape Elizabeth*, we eſpyed *John Pain*, (who was ſent out a Scout) who brought word *the way was clear* of Ice, and *Indians* whereupon we ſteared for Mary *Point* at the head of *Caſco Bay*, and got there this night, but too late to get to the *Fort* before morning.

February the eighteenth, we ſent this morning our Scouts out by Land, who returning about *eight of the Clock* brought word they eſpyed the *Tracts of three Indians*, and found a *Birch Canoo* at *Muckquitt* about *four miles* off, by which we feared we were diſcovered, the Companyes about *four a Clock* were drawn forth, and juſt beginning their march, when we eſpyed *five Canoos* of the Enemy about *half a mile* off, they landed over againſt us on an *Iſland*, and *holloed* to us, whereby we perceived they deſired a *Treaty*, hoping to gain the *Captives*, we ſent *John Pain* to them, they promiſed him to bring the *Captives* by morning, and deſired peace: After this *John Pain* was ſent again, and ſtayed among the Indians in the room of *Simon*, who came to the *Major*, he was queſtioned, and Anſwered as followeth:

Queſt. *How came you to know we were here?*

Anſw. We continually kept out our Scouts, and *Yeſterday* our Indians left a *Canoo* at *Muckquitt*, which this day we miſſed, and perceived the *Engliſh* had taken it, and *our Men* that left the *Canoo*, eſpyed you a great way off at *Portland*.

Queſt. *Why did you break your Covenant with me?*

Anſw. Blind Will ſtirred us up to the *War* here, and ſaid, he would kill you at *Quechecho*; Simon having ſaid this, askt. the *Major* what his buſineſs was here? to whom it was Anſwered, we came to fetch off the *Captives* and make War as we ſee good, *Simon* alſo told us that the

Captives

Captives were all well, that we ſhould have them by morning, that *Squando* was there, and would give the *Captives* to *Major Waldern* that they intended peace, had ſent to *Boſton* before now, but that *Mugg* told them the *Engliſh* would be here ſhortly.

The *Major* upon this diſmiſſed *Simon*, and ſent for *Squando*, to which *Squando* Anſwered, he would meet him *half way* if he would come alone in a *Birch Canoo*. To this the Major Anſwered, he would not venture himſelf in our *Leakie Canoo*, and that if he had no more to ſay the *Treaty* was ended: To this *Squando* Anſwered, he would be with us again at *Ten a Clock*, and bring the *Captives*.

On the *Nineteenth*. Wind *North Eaſt*, the weather thick; About Noon we diſcovered a party of Indians in *fourteen Canoos* about *three mile* above us in the *Bay*: they landed on a *point of Land* and burnt one Engliſh *houſe*, and ſhouted to ſome of our men that were Scouts, challenging them to fight: Immediately on the Return of our Scouts we marched againſt them as ſecretly as we could: upon ſight of us they fled; but *Captain Froſt* came upon them with his *whole body* before they were half out of *Gun ſhot*: in this Skirmiſh we judged, we killed and wounded ſeveral of them without any damage, yet ſome of their *Bullets* hit ſome of our men. For the *Captives ſake* immediately after this, we hung out *a Flag of Truce*, and the Enemy did the like: *John Pain* was ſent to them to demand the Reaſon why they *fired the houſe*, and *brake their Promiſe*.

Simon met him half way, and Anſwered, the houſe was *fired Accidentally* without Order from *Squando*: that they had ſent for the *Captives* who were a great way off, and the *foul weather* hindred their coming: He queſtioned *John Pain* alſo why we fought them while we were in *Treaty*.

Pain Anſwered they brake it themſelves in not performing their promiſe, challenging our Souldiers to fight; this latter *Simon* denyed, and Anſwered the other as before: *Simon* told him they had *two men wounded*, and expected *ſatisfaction*, but alſo promiſed the Captives the *next day*, and ſo left us.

On the *twentieth*. The wind *North Eaſt*, and Snow, it was reſolved to Sayle for *Kennibeck* the firſt *fair wind*, whether we had immediately gone upon our knowledge, that we were diſcovered by the Enemy, but that the wind and weather hindred us hitherto.

February the twenty firſt, this morning the wind *North Weſt*, we ſet Sayle for *Kennibeck*, and arrived at the *Harbours mouth* at *four a Clock*: About Sun ſet we ſet Sayle *up the River*, and got to the lower end of

Twenty ſecond, we ſet Sayle this morning, but could not get to the *head of the River* for *Ice*, whereupon we landed *our Souldiers* about *two a Clock*, about *twelve miles* off *Aboundeſſit Fort*, and immediately began our march, about *eight a Clock at night* came to the *Fort*, we found no Indians, there we *took up our Quarters* this night.

Twenty third we ſent out Scouts to diſcover the *march of the Enemy*, but found ſo many *Traſts* every way, that we knew not what way to follow them; At a *Council of War* it was reſolved that *Major Waldern* ſhould Sayle for *Penobſcot*, with *two of the Ketches*, and part of the Souldiers to ſeek after the *Captives*, and fight the Enemy if he had opportunity: the reſt to build a *Garriſon*. In the abſence of *our Forces*, the Veſſels eſpyed ſeveral Fires *below the River*, and one Engliſh *houſe* was *burnt*, about Sun ſet, the Souldiers returned to the Veſſels.

Twenty fourth this morning the *Major* with two Boats and a *Shallop* went to ſpy out a place to ſettle a Garriſon, and found one againſt the lower end of *Arowſick Iſland*, and the Veſſels are brought to it.

Twenty fifth. We reſted here *this Sabboth*.

Iohn Bakers houſe oppoſite to the lower end of *Arowſick*, being judged the *moſt convenient place* for their purpoſe, as well for the convenience *of water* for the Souldiers, as of a *Cove* wherein Ships might *Ride*, within Command thereof, *their Veſſels* therefore were immediately *Anchored there*, where they reſted on the *Lords day*, *February the twenty fifth*.

The next day according to the *Advice* of the *Commanders*, *Major Waldern* embarqued *ſixty men* in *two Veſſels*, with which he ſet Sayle immediately for *Penobſcot*, leaving the reſt to be imployed in making preparation for *ſetling a Garriſon* in the ſaid place.

In their way, off from *Gy-obſcut Point*, they eſpyed *two Indians* in a *Canoo*, that *waved their Caps*, as if they *deſired ſpeech* with them. *Iohn Pain* and *Wat. Ghendal* were preſently ſent; they gave them *Intelligence* that many Indians were at *Pemmaquid* with *Engliſh Captives*, upon which they *bent their Courſe* thither, where *arriving* they *Anchored* at *four a Clock*, the ſame day; ſoon after *two Indians* holloed to them from Mr. *Gardners Fort*. *Iohn Pain* was ſent *a ſhore* to enquire who they were, and what was *become of the Captives*; Sundry ſorts of Indians were found upon *the place*, with ſeveral *Sagamores*, the chief of whom, was *Mattabando*, who told them he was glad to *ſee Engliſh men* there, and that he *deſired peace*, and promiſed to deliver ſuch *Captives* as were at *Penobſcot*, the next morning; adding alſo, that he deſired to ſpeak with *Captain Davis*. After *Iohn Pain* returned to the

Major

Major, he was ſent back with the ſaid *Davis*, and ſtaid a ſhore, till *three Sagamores* went a boord, and ſignified as much to *Major Waldern*, as they had ſaid before to *John Pain*. While they were in diſcourſe, an *Engliſh Captive* was eſpyed in a *Canoo* with his *Raterоon*, with whom they *deſired to ſpeak*, but it was not granted at that time, he being carryed farther up the River out of ſight.

Soon after *the Major* went a ſhore with *ſix men*, yet carrying *no Arms* with them. He found their words *ſmoother than Oyle*, yet were there *drawn Swords in their hearts*, of which ſome of their actions, gave no *ſmall ground of Suſpition*: for they deferred all till the *next morning*; nor were they willing to let the man that was *eſpyed before* in the *Canoo* come a boord to ſee his Friends without leaving *an Hoſtage* in his *room*, of which *the Major* was very glad, that he might have an opportunity of a little diſcourſe with one whom they *might truſt*. When they returned from the ſhore, *a ſign* was promiſed to be given for *the Appearance* of the Indians by the firing of *three Guns*. The next morning, *February the twenty ſeventh, the Major* with the ſame number as before, went to *Treat with them*: They with *John Pain* having firſt *hollоed* to them; upon their coming a ſhore their perſons were *ſearched* on *both ſides*, and *all Arms* laid *aſide*. The whole Forenoon was ſpent in *a Treaty*, whereat they ſeemed *much to rejoyce* in *expectation of a Peace* with the Engliſh; yet when *Major Waldern* deſired a *preſent delivery* of the *Captives*, with *Aſſiſtance of men* and *Canoos* to fight the *Monoſcoggin Indians*, Enemies to them both, it was denyed, though they could no: have had a fitter *Teſtimony of their Fidelity*.

They alleadged that the *Captives* were given them by *Kennibeck Indians*, and they muſt have ſomething for *keeping them all Winter*, and therefore were not willing to let them go without *Ranſome*; And for their *Canoos*, they ſaid they had them in *preſent Service*, being then bound for *Penobſcot*. The price demanded, *viz. twelve Skins a perſon*, was yielded to; upon which they preſently delivered *William Chadburn*, *John Whinnick*, and *John Wormood*, which were all that they would owne, or could be proved they had.

That part of the pay, which was to be *in Liquor*, was preſently laid down, the reſt was *promiſed* to be ſent in the *Afternoon*. The Commanders *debated* what was *farther to be done*, one or two of the *old Sagamores*, (who were believed) *ſeemed ſincere* about the Peace, profeſſed that none of them had any hand in *the War*, but only ſome of their *young men*, whom they *could not Rule*: But ſeveral of the Company *affirming* they ſaw ſome of the ſaid Indians *at Caſco* engaged in *Hoſtility*

againſt the Engliſh, it was reſolved not to enter into any *League of Peace* with them, but rather to *fight them*, or *ſurprize them* after they had diſpatched the buſineſs about *the Captives*.

This being determined, *the Major* with *five of his men* went a ſhore, with part of the *Ranſome*, the better to beget a *Confidence in them*; and then preſently to *return a boord*, and fit his men for *farther Service*; But if he had not wiſely provided againſt all *Exigencies* afore hand, he might have been *prevented* from ever *going aboord* more; for ſtepping aſide *a Rod or two* from the place, for better *Circumſpection*, he eſpyed the *point of a Lance* from under a boord, *hid there*, as were other Arms near by for a *Treacherous deſigne* that was in *their minds*, ſoon after, upon the receiving the *reſt of the Pay*, to have been put in Execution. Whereupon *Major Waldern* took up the *Lance*, and came towards them, *charging them with falſhood and Treachery*, for *hiding Weapons* juſt by, wherewith to *deſtroy them* as ſoon as they had *delivered the goods*: The Indians diſcovered their *guiltineſs* by their *Countenances*, ſome of them *making towards him*, thinking to get the ſaid *Weapon* out of *his hands*; but he bid them *ſtand off*, *threatning to kill* every one that offered to *touch him*; And immediately *waved his Cap* ouer his head, (which was *the ſigne agreed upon*, for the Souldiers to come all a ſhore, in Caſe of need) upon which *Token* the Souldiers all haſted away. In the mean while the Engliſh that went a ſhore to wait upon *the* Major, were forced to *beſtir them*, both to *ſecure the goods* from being carryed away, and to *defend* Major *Waldern*: Some of the *Squaws* with others of the Enemy ran away, one of them catched up *a Bundle of Guns* that were hid near by, and ran away with them, *Captain Froſt* ſeized an Indian called *Megunnaway*, a *Notorious Rogue*, (that had beenin Arms at *Connecticut* laſt *Iune*, at the *Falls*, and ſaw that *brave and Reſolute Captain Turner*, when he was ſlain about *green River*; and helped to kill *Thomas Bracket* at *Caſco*, *Auguſt laſt*.) And with the help of *Lieutenant Nutter*, according to the *Majors Order* carryed him a boord, while himſelf ſearching about farther found *three Guns* hid in a *Cow-houſe* juſt at hand, wherewith he armed the other *three men* that were with him: By this time ſome of the *Souldiers* were *got a ſhore*, and inſtantly according to their Majors *Command* purſued the Enemy towards their *Canoos*; In the *Chaſe*, ſeveral of the Enemies were ſlain, whoſe *bodies* they found at their Return; to the number of ſeven, amongſt whom was *Mattahando the Sagamore*, with an *old Powaw*, to whom *the Devil* had *revealed*, as ſometimes he *did to Saul*, that on the *ſame day* he ſhould be *with him*: for he had a little before told the Indians, that within *two dayes*, the

Engliſh

Engliſh would *come and kill them all*, which was at the very ſame time *verified upon himſelf*: The body of our men overtook them before they all recovered their *Canoes*, ſo as without doubt, divers others of them were *ſlain* likewiſe: for they *ſunke a Canoo*, wherein were *five drowned* before their Eyes: and many others were not *able to paddle*: *four* they *took Priſoners*, whom they brought away with them. There being about *five and twenty* of the Indians preſent at *this Encounter*.

Much more *damage* might have *been done* by our men upon the Enemy, if they had *known the ready way* to their *Canoos*; but the Indians having prepared all things ready *for flight*, in Caſe, as well as *for fight*, the more eaſily made *their eſcape*. One of the Captives taken was *Madockawando's Siſter*, who was *Entertained* very *Courteouſly* by the *Commander in chief*, and had been carryed forthwith to *her Brother*, in hope by her means to have gained the better Tearms for our remaining *Engliſh Captives*, but it was certainly known that he was gone from home upon an *Hunting Deſigne*, and not to return in two Months.

The Engliſh took much Plunder from the *Indians*, about a thouſand weight of dried Beef, with other things, *Megunnaway* was ſhot to Death, the ſame day or the next, ſo as Juſtice is by degrees purſuing thoſe *perfidious Villains*, and one after another they are brought under the Wheel of Deſtruction. *Simon*, that *Arch Traytor*, ſeems as is ſaid, by his Conſumptive looks, to have received the Sentence of Death, which may bring him into the ſame place of State with the reſt.

Feb. 28th. they ſet Sayle for *Shipscot*, but the wind failing, they were put in at *Kennibeck*, from whence *Captain Fiſk* with forty men were ſent to the ſaid place to ſeek after Plunder, where they found between thirty and forty *Buſhels* of good wheat, which they brought away with them, ſeveral other things they lighted upon here, and there, ſome of which were brought away; As one or two great Guns, and ſome *Anchors*, from *Saga de Hock*, *Boards* from *Arowſick*, where they found an hundred thouſand Foot, of which they brought home, enough for the lading of their Veſſels, leaving the reſt to be Tranſported in a more convenient Seaſon.

While our Souldiers were upon *Arowſick*, *two* of the Enemy chancing to come upon the place, one of them preſently received *his Reward*, the other received *his Payment*, which yet is ſuppoſed to amount to the whole; The *Canoo* wherein he ſeemed to eſcape, being found the next day *all bloody*, and *ſplit* aſunder.

March the *firſt*, one of the Indian *Squaws* a Captive was ſent to *Tanuet Fort*, with a Meſſage to the *Sagamores* to Treat for the reſt of the Captives;

Captives: *Five dayes* were given her for her Return, which were not *expired*, when *Major Waldern*, with moſt of the Souldiers were called to *return home* towards *Boſton*, where they arrived *March the eleventh*, *1676. 77.* having firſt put in at *Portsmouth* Bringing along with them *the bones*, or rather *the body* of *Captain Lake*, preſerven *entire and whole* and free from *putrefaction* by the coldneſs of the *long winter*, ſo as it was when found by the diſcretion of one that was near him when he was ſlain, eaſily diſcerned to be his, by ſuch as *had known him* before.

It is hoped by thoſe that returned, the Enemies are by this *Encounter* of the Engliſh ſo *ſcattered* and *broken*, that they will not be able to *rally again* ſuddenly, or make any *after Attempt*, if the preſent Advantage be ſeriouſly purſued. And thus have our Enemies themſelves many of them *fallen into the pit*, *which they have been digging for others.*

This day alſo Letters were received from *Major Pinchon of Springfield*, but without mention of any *appearance* of Enemies in *that Quarter*, whereby we are encouraged to believe, that they have *ſtumbled and fallen down backward*, ſo as they ſhall *never riſe any more* to make farther diſturbance. That which *crowned* the preſent Service was the performing it without *loſs of blood*; They all returning home *in ſafety*, not any one being *miſſed*; *Let them accordingly remember to pay a ſuitable Tribute of Thankfulneſs to him*, under whoſe *Banner* they went forth, and returned in Safety; And ſay with *Moſes the Servant* of the Lord, *JEHOVAH NISSI.*

TO this *Iſſue* were our *Troubles with the Indians* brought in the end of the *year*, *1676*.

That which hath been already ſaid in that kind, may ſerve to give *an Account* of the *Murthers*, *Slaughters*, *Captivities* of ſeveral perſons of the Engliſh Inhabitants of *New-England*: together with the *burning and ſpoyling* of divers of their *Villages and houſes*, *ſpoyling of their Eſtates*, by thoſe their *perfidious and barbarous Enemies*. That which remains, is only to ſatisfie the *Inquiſitive Reader* about ſome other particulars, which have a *Relation* unto, or *dependance* upon the former: as to ſhew what may be the *principal* and *leading Cauſes Civil* or *moral*, of thoſe *ſtrange Succeſſes* of the Indians, in ſome of their *firſt Encounters* with the Engliſh there, what *preſages* or other *ominous Accidents* were obſerved aforehand, what *aſſiſtance* they received from other *Forreign Nations*, *French*, or *Dutch*, what is ſince become of thoſe Indians that were the *Authors* of the foreſaid miſchiefs, what *progreſs Chriſtian Religion* hath already made, or is like further to make amongſt the reſt, all which may ſerve as an *Epilogue* to the *Tragical Hiſtory* foregoing.

It is no doubt but that (as ſometimes was ſaid of *the Diviſions of Reuben*) there have been, and are *great thoughts of heart* amongſt them that wiſh well to this poor Country; for the *Calamities* that of late have here fallen out, every one taking occaſion to put *that Conſtruction* upon what hath hapned, which *ſuits beſt* with his own underſtanding and humour. Poſſibly thoſe that live at a diſtance have made many *uncertain gueſſes* at things which have paſſed here. For thoſe that lived upon the place have very ſad *Apprehenſions* both concerning *the Riſe and Iſſue of them*. In a matter therefore of ſo much difficulty to give the beſt account we can of the things *under debate*; It cannot be denyed but that things ever ſince the planting of theſe *Coloniss* of *New-England*, they have been *ſignally bleſſed* of God, and made to *flouriſh* above many other *Forreign Plantations*, both for the number of *Towns* and *Villages*, *Increaſe of Families*, *growth of Trade*, *flouriſhing of Religion*, probably therefore, this ſudden and unexpected *turn of Providence*, may occaſion many to think, that either there hath been ſome *notable Declenſion* from *former Principles* and *wayes*, or elſe the world hath been

much

much abuſed by former reports of our *proſperous proceedings* here. But it ſh uld be obſerved that Arguments taken barely from *Succeſs*, and the *Event* of things, like *Cyphers* ſtanding *alone* and not joyned with *others*, as ſome have ſaid, do not *increaſe* the number, when the *whole Summe* is to be made up, they will ſignifie what they were intended for; Every thing is *beautiful in its Seaſon*, but in the mean time: *ſad Events* ſhould rather be improved to our *own Inſtruction* than the condemning of others: following the *dark Cloud of Providence* without the *fiery Pillar* of the *Scripture*, will lead into *uncertain paths*. This is not the *firſt time* that *Chriſtian People* have been expoſed to *many Outrages*, and *barbarous Calamities* from their *Pagan Neighbours*, to whom they have been many wayes *Officious*. It is well known what hapned in the Neighbour Colony of *Virginia* on the *twenty ſecond of March*, 1622. when by a general *Conſpiracy* of the Indians *three hundred and forty ſeven perſons* of the Engliſh Planters, were *barbarouſly maſſacred*; at that time when they had the greateſt hopes of Converting them to Chriſtianity; yet need not this any whit diſcourage *charitable Endeavours* that way; for if it had not been for one *Converted Indian*, that revealed the *Plot*, in all likelihood *all the reſt* of the Engliſh there planted, had been in like manner *cut off* at the ſame time. The *Heathen* in *New-England* are ſcituate in the ſame *Climate*, therefore cannot be ſuppoſed to be much *differing* in their *manners and diſpoſition*. But beſides that we are *hemm'd in* on both ſides, and almoſt *round about*, with People of *Forreign Nations*, whoſe deſigne is neither Religion, nor yet planting *Colonies* of *Civil People*, ſo much as preſent *Emolument* by *Commerce* and *Traffick* with the Indians, who notwithſtanding their *barbarous manner* of living, are yet furniſhed with ſome rich and uſeful Commodities, for the obtaining of which, thoſe that come amongſt them have not been unwilling to offer them in way of *Exchange*, ſuch Commodities as the Indians moſt fancy and deſire, as *Powder* and *Ammunition*, not conſidering how *deſtructive* the Trade thereof may prove to others, which hath made ſome wiſe men both *fear* and *foretell* the *dangerous Iſſue* of Trading thoſe things with the Indians here. It hath been ſaid the *Hollanders* uſed ſo to deal with the *Spaniards*, at ſuch times as they had their *fierceſt Wars* with them, ſaying, that if they did not, others would carry thoſe Commodities to their Enemies, which they thought they were as good to do themſelves, that ſo in Caſe of *bad Succeſs in the Wars*, the gain of the *Barter* might help to make amends for the loſs of the *Battle*. The ſame Reaſon poſſibly put them upon the like practice in that part of this Country called the *New-Netherlands*: for which

they

they have pretty well *ſmarted themſelves*, as now they have helped others to do by their Example. Some *prudent Gentlemen* that *govern-edin Virginia* at the firſt, were aware of this miſchief; wherefore it was ſtrictly forbidden them, upon *pain of death* to ſhew an Indian the *uſe of a Gun*; if the like Courſe had been continued here, it had ſcarce been poſſible according to the *Eye of Reaſon* that ſo much miſchief could have been done us by our Indian Neighbours, at this time more than in former years. Their wills were as good heretofore, but when they had nothing but *Bows and Arrows* to truſt unto, they were capable of no ſuch miſchief: But now by their *frequent Converſe* and *Trading* with the *Dutch* and *French* on each ſide of us, they are as well ſkil'd in the uſe of *ſmall Artillery* as many other Nations.

Their *young men* ſo much *delighting* therein, that upon point they mind *little elſe*, and are ſo proud of their Skill, that they thought they could *eaſily deal with*, if not *over-match* their *Maſters*; that firſt inſtructed them.

It is reported by an *Ancient Marriner* yet living in theſe parts, a perſon of *good Credit*, that above *twenty years ſince* being in the *Eaſtern parts* about *Kennibeck*, he heard an old Indian tell this ſtory, that when he was a *Youth*, there was a *Fort* built about *Saga-de-Hock*(the Ruines of which were then ſhown *this Relater*, ſuppoſed to be that called *St. Georges Fort* in honour of *Captain George Popham*, the *Preſident* of the Company ſent over *Anno, 1607.*) And poſſeſſed for ſome time by the Engliſh: But afterward upon ſome Quarrel that fell out betwixt the *Indians* and *them*, the Engliſh were ſome of them killed by the ſaid *Indians*, and the reſt all driven out of the *Fort*, where there was left much of their *Proviſion* and *Amunition*; amongſt which there was ſome *Barrels of Powder*, but after they had opened them, and not knowing what to do therewith, they left the *Barrels careleſly open*, and ſcattered the *Powder* about, ſo as accidentally it *took fire*, and blew up all that was within the *Fort*, *burnt* and *deſtroyed many* of the Indians, upon which they conceived *their God was Angry* with them for *doing hurt* to the Engliſh; It had been well theſe Indians never had had any *other acquaintance* with the nature of that *Commodity*, then by ſuch *Experimental knowledge* of its *Force* and *power*. But Covetouſneſs was and will be the *Root of all evil* in every Age of the *World*, of which this may be reckoned one, and not the leaſt, that for the ſake of a *little Lucre*, *Civil* and *Chriſtian Nations* have been induced to inſtruct a *barbarous* and *Salvage People* (before ever they had been reduced to *good order* or *Civil manners*, much leſs *Chriſtianity*, in the uſe of our *Artillery*,

and furniſh them likewiſe with *Amunition*, to improve that Skill to the *deſtruction of themſelves*, and their Poſterity. *Thomas Martin* was ſaid to be the firſt that like *Epimetheus* opned this *Pandora's Box* but he was not the *Vulcan*, that *forged* all their *Guns*, with other *weapons of War* they are found ſo well furniſhed withall.

The *Commiſſioners* of our *united Colonyes* have for a long time *carefully* and *ſeriouſly* endeavoured the preventing this *Inconvenience* in every of the *three Colonyes*, by ſtrict prohibition of *Trading Amunition* with the Indians; Nor hath it been given way unto, till of late years, when by the *continual Sollicitation* of ſome of our own People (that poſſibly ſince have *paid dearly* for their forwardneſs therein) who alledged the Example of the *French and Dutch*, and of ſome of our *own Nation* bordering upon us; The former reſtraint hath been taken off, and it is verily ſuppoſed that as to ſome of *our People*, that in the *laſt Inſurrection* of the Indians amongſt us, have felt both the *firſt* and *worſt part* of their *Rage* and *Cruelty*; it was Effected by the *Amunition* not long before purchaſed of themſelves, which it may be was reſerved for that very end and purpoſe. It is no ſmall Aggravation of the miſery befalling a place or perſon, when it is known to be brought about, by means of their own projecting; As ſometimes was ſaid to the Tyrant Ilus by a weapon of his own forging, *ſuo ſibi hunc jugulo gladio*.

But if Enquiry be made into the *moral* and *procuring Cauſes*, whereby God hath been provoked to let looſe *the Rage of the Heathen* thus againſt us; It is not hard to give an Anſwer. The *Soveraign Ruler of the World* need never *pick a Quarrel* with any ſort of men (the beſt of his Servants at all times giving him too juſt occaſion of Controverſy with them) or be to ſeek of a ground why to bring *a Scourge* upon them, having alſo other holy ends why he contends with his People; of which he is not bound to render the world an account: It may be Reaſon enough to work in them a *Sympathy* for the Sufferings and Calamityes of others: or to keep them from being *exalted above meaſure*; or to *humble* and *prove* them, that they ſhould not by their *long Peace* and *Proſperity* be ready to look upon themſelves as *leſs ſinners than others*, who have drunk deep of the *Cup of Trembling* before them: To prevent what Evil may, as well as reform what is already grown up amongſt them. Standing waters are moſt apt to corrupt, Gods Diſpenſations of this nature in the world, are uſually obſerved to be for *Correction* of the Vices, as well as for the *Tryal* of the Virtues found in his Servants. And what people or perſon is there upon the *face of the Earth*, who hath not Reaſon to lay their hand upon their mouths, and to abhor themſelves

ſelves in *duſt and aſhes*, if the *Almighty* ſhou'd go about to enter *into Judgement* with them: No doubt but after ſo long a time of *Peace and Proſperity*, as hath been enjoyed, the like *Corruptions* have began to *bud forth*, as are uſual in ſuch a Caſe, as *Pride*, *Luxury*, *Inordinate Love of the World*, &c. Nor need He be inſtructed by men, what *Inſtruments* to make uſe of, in the *baſtning* of his People: Why may not *God* as well as *Gideon* teach the men of *Succoth*, and of other places, by the *Briers and Thorns of the Wilderneſs*. If a more particular *Indagation* of the Πρῶτον ψεῦδος or the very *original Offence* in this matter be expected; *All things conſidered*, it may be feared to ſpring from ſome *Irregularities and miſcarriages* in our *Tranſactions* and *dealings* with the Indians themſelves, according to that known Rule: *In quo quis peccat, in eo punitur*, yet muſt not this be underſtood, ſo as to *reflect* upon the People of the *United Colonyes* in the *Groſs*: Whoſe *ſupream Court* in their ſeveral Juriſdictions, have endeavoured by the *ſharpeſt* and *ſevereſt Laws imaginable* to prevent any miſcarriage of ſuch a nature; But it hath ariſen only from ſuch places & perſons as *border* upon us *round about*, both *Southward* and *Eaſtward*, yet never were, nor would be, ſubject to the Laws of our *Juriſdiction*, nor had any *Reprover in the Gate*, or *Magiſtrate* to put the *Offenders* to *ſhame*. Such as make the Advantage they have in their heads the Rule for their *Conſciences* to act by; *It is* no wonder if they be ready to tranſgreſs the *Rules* both of *Sobriety* and *Righteouſneſs* in their dealings with men, as well as *Piety before God*. The things that the Indians are more *eager to Trade for*, being known to be either *ſtrong Liquor* or *Powder, and Ammunition*: And many have been found *Indirectly* and *under hand* to gratifie their humour therein: The one hath proved alwayes moſt *hurtful to themſelves*, the other ſeaſed (and juſtly as it hath been proved) *moſt deſtructive to our ſelves*. The more *ſober* and *prudent* of the Indians have alwayes moſt *bitterly complained* of the Trading of *ſtrong Liquor* in our Engliſh, as well as in the *French and Dutch*, whoſe ordinary Cuſtome is firſt, to make them, or ſuffer them to make themſelves *drunk with Liquors*, and then to Trade with them, when they may eaſily be *cheated* both in what they *bring* to *Trade*, and in the *Liquor it ſelf*, being one half or more nothing but *Spring water*, which made one of the *Amonoſcoggin Indians* once complain that he had given an *hundred Pounds* for water drawn out of *Mr. P. his Well*. But this is not all the Evil that attends this wicked Trade of *ſtrong Liquor*, for when they are *drunke therewith*, they are ready to *fight* with their *Friends*, *Parents*, *Brethren*, &c. Yea often have *murthered one another*. *Should I not be avenged on ſuch a People*,

or perſons as theſe *ſaith the Lord?* Good old *Jacob* ſometimes complained after the Villany of his *two Sons*, committed upon the *Schechemites*, that he was made to *ſtink in the ſight of the People of the Land*, and that he ſhould be *deſtroyed he and his houſe*: It is well if ſome of our *Borderers* have not had cauſe, not only to *fear*, but to *feel* the like Calamity in Reference to themſelves, or ſome of theirs, thus what hath been gotten *over the back* of the *evil Fiend* is loſt under his belly according to the *Proverb.*

Beſides all this, it hath been obſerved of many of theſe *ſcattering Plantations* in our Borders, that many were contented to live without, yea, deſirous to ſhake off all *yoke of Government*, both *ſacred* and *Civil*, and ſo *Transforming* themſelves as much as well they could into the manners of the Indians they lived amongſt, and are ſome of them therefore *moſt deſervedly* (as to *Divine Juſtice*) left to be put under the *yoke and power* of the Indians themſelves, and hence it is that in many parts, the *people void of Counſel and common prudence* as well as *Courage*, have ſo *frightfully* deſerted, or *Cowardly* delivered up ſeveral places of ſtrength (though *Tenable enough* of themſelves) into the hands of *Contemptible Enemies*; and ſo like *Ripe Figs* upon the firſt ſhaking of the *Tree*, have been ready to fall into the *mouth of the Eater*, as the *Prophet* ſpeaks; As hath been too ſadly verified in ſome of the *Southern*, and all the *Eaſtern parts.*

If it be here *Objected*, that the *ſame* or *like Calamities* have befallen many of thoſe places and perſons; where no ſuch Evils could juſtly be complained of; It may as eaſily be Anſwered, and that from the obſervation of *Heathen themſelves*, that in ſuch publick Calamities, it is not eaſy to diſtinguiſh between the good and the bad, *ſæpe Diespiter, iratus innocuo addidit integrum.* The Righteous many times have an equal ſhare with the wicked. In theſe Caſes ſaith *Solomon*, *all things come alike to all, no man knoweth love or hatred by all that is before him:* The Confuſed Events of worldly Affairs, are oft times ſo limited and reſtrained by the *holy hand* and *wiſe Providence* of God, that it is hard to find a difference; therefore concerning ſuch places, which may be thought *not touched* with the *guilt* of the forementioned miſcarriages, yet have by the *overruling hand of Providence* been notwithſtanding made to ſuffer as deeply as others. I judge them not, yet hope, if they have ought for which to judge themſelves before him that ſearcheth the hearts, they will take occaſion hereby to humble themſelves under the *mighty hand* of God, that in his *due time* they may be *Exalted* to their former *Tranquility and Peace.*

When

When Gods Judgements are *abroad in the Earth*, then ſhould the *Inhabitants of the World learn Righteouſneſs:* This Caution is judged the more neceſſary here to be added, in that it is the general obſervation of all indifferent and unconcerned perſons about the like Troubles; That they have ordinarily either begun, or have fallen heavieſt upon thoſe places and perſons that have had *moſt to do* in the Trading with Indians.

If any ſuch have as yet eſcaped their hands, to be ſure they have been *Threatned*, as if they had been before others, particularly lookt upon by them, as the *Object* of their *Revenge*, which makes ſome moderate perſons fear, that thoſe men have either themſelves offended in that kind, or elſe have connived at others under them, to carry on the *Traffick* with the Indians, by ſuch wayes and means, that have been as well *offenſive* to God, as *injurious* to thoſe they have *Traded with*.

In the ſecond place, touching the various Succeſs we have met withal, in our ſeveral Encounters with the Indians, *Victory and Conqueſt* did for a long time ſeem to *ſtand Neuter*, and our Condition and Warfare not much unlike the Conflict between *Iſrael and Amalek* in the Wilderneſs; nor can it be denyed but that our Enemies for a time had great Succeſs in their *Outrages*, Providence as it were ſeeming to offer them opportunities of doing us much miſchief; when we could find none of taking *juſt Revenge*: Things of that nature being ſtrangely either hid from the Eyes of *the Leaders*, or elſe the *weather* hath ſo fallen out as that it was *not poſſible* for our men to have *purſued them*: Although both the *Commanders* and *Souldiers*, ſent forth from all the *three Colonyes*, have *joyntly* and *ſeverally* purſued their Advantages, with *in-Credible hazard and diligence*, and with as *Invincible Courage* as ordinarily hath been found amongſt men. But as it is ſaid, the *Battle* is not alwayes *to the ſtrong*, nor *the Race to the ſwift*, but *Time and Chance* hath ſtrangely Interpoſed to the prolonging of our miſeries, and the hardning and emboldning of our Enemies: Much of our diſappointments, and the loſs of many of our Forces engaging with them, muſt *be imputed* in a great meaſure to our mens unacquaintedneſs with the manner of *their fighting*, they doing moſt of their miſchiefs, either by *Ambuſhments*, ſudden ſurprizals, or overmatching ſome of our ſmall Companyes with greater numbers, having had many times *ſix or ſeven* to one: Poſſibly alſo many of our Overthrows have proceeded from our too much Confidence in our own weapons, *Courage* and *Martial Diſcipline*; Not *making Allowance* for the difference of Times, when they before engaged us, only with *Bows*

and Arrows, but now came to fight us with our *own weapons*) which hath proved no ſmall Advantage to our Enemies, and diſadvantage to our ſelves; or elſe to the *diſtance of our Towns* one from the other ſo as ofttimes they were deſtroyed, or in danger thereof, before *any notice* was taken of their danger. If that be a *ſure Rule* whereby *Valour* is to be judged, *plus animi eſt inferenti periculum quam propulſanti*, &c. that there is more Courage ſeen in the *Aſſaylants*, than in the *Defendants*; a few of our men have frequently defended themſelves againſt *multitudes of them*, unleſs at ſuch times when Providence ſeemed as it were to *trouble the Wheels* of our *Motions*, and fight againſt us, ſo as ordinarily our people uſed not to want Courage: For at *Lancaſter* where they ſeemed to have had the greateſt *Cauſe of boaſting* for their Succeſs in any *Aſſault* (although it were ſince known, that they had *five hundred* fighting men when they Aſſaulted that ſmall Town of about *fifty Families*) yet were they able to ſurprize but *one garriſon houſe*, which neither was *fenced round*, nor were the *Defendants able* to ply their ſhot behind it, but ſo as the Enemy came to the *very Walls* and *Roof* on the *backſide* with their *Fuel*, or elſe they had never been able to have diſpoſſeſſed the Inhabitants. The ſame Indians within a while after, had not been able to have done the miſchief at *Groaton* which they did, had not a *Garriſon* been *unadviſedly* as it were delivered into their hands. In one word they were more beholding to their *perfidious Subtlety* and *Falſhood*, or to the Advantage of *Seaſon*, *place*, and *Number* than any *Valour* or *Courage* in all their Victoryes, ſhewing only a *Belluine Rage* and *fierceneſs*, when they had an opportunity in their hands to deſtroy or do miſchief. For ſoon after when the time of *Vengeance was come*, and God ſeemed to *owne the Cauſe of his People*, a *ſmall handful* of our men hath ſurprized *hundreds of theirs*, as hath been already declared in the *Narrative*. The Diſpenſations of the Almighty have been very *awful* towards us, for a long time, not ſeeming to *go forth with our Armies*, nor helping us in *defending* our ſelves, or *defeating* of our Enemies, as if he had a purpoſe and deſigne to bring a *ſharp Scourge* upon us, by that means to *humble us*, and *prove us*, and then (as we truſt) to *do us good in our latter end*: acting therein as wiſe *Parents* that after they have *corrected* their *Children*, to *caſt the Rod* into the Fire. For our Enemies to the *Southward*, were in the beginning of theſe Troubles, poſſeſſed of many goodly *Havens*, many *rich and Fertile places*, as at *Mount-Hope*, and all along the *Narrhaganſit Country*. But are by this occaſion, (quarrelling with us without cauſe) themſelves in a manner all deſtroyed by the ſpecial hand of God, and

their

their *Posterity* quite *rooted out*, as were the *Pequots* before them, whereby it may be gathered as we hope, that God is making way to settle a better people in their rooms, and in their stead; when the whole frame of Gods Counsels, and purposes are put together, and accomplished by the Issues of his Providence, it will, no doubt, appear a *work* very *beautiful in its Season*, not only for the *glory of the Author* but for the *good and benefit* of his people, that are concerned therein.

As for *predictions*, or *presages* of these late Troubles,

Something of that nature hath been observed by some *Judicious persons* in *reference* to the present Calamities, of which something hath already been *published to the World*, concerning which I have nothing to adde, only that some such things have been affirmed by credible persons, as *presages of* what hath lately *come to pass*. The *noyse of Guns* is affirmed by many, to have been *heard in the Ayre*, in sundry places not many years before; Concerning which the Judicious Reader may take what notice he pleaseth. Although I would not be *too forward* in *obtruding* uncertain Reports upon the belief of the far distant Reader, especially considering how much the world hath oft been abused with *false Coyne* of the like nature.

But for other *predictions* of the present Calamities, some *wise men* have thought it not unworthy to be *communicated to Posterity* what hath been observed amongst the Indians themselves, as if either *God himself* had left some *Impression* on the minds of some of them this way, or that by some *strange Instinct* or other, they had some Reason to forbode the Troubles now begun, although not yet ended, *sed dabit Deus his quoq; finem*, in his own time.

There was within the Compass of the last *seven years* now current, a *Sagamore* about *Kittary*, or the *North-East* side of *Pascataqua River*, called *Roules*, or *Rolles*; who lying *very sick*, and *bed rid*, (being an *old man*) he expected some of the English, that had seazed upon his Land, should have shewn him that Civility, as to have given him *a visit* in his *Aged Infirmityes*, and *sickness*; It matters not much, whether it was *totally neglected* or not; to be sure at the last, he sent for the *chief of the Town*, and desired a *favour of them*, *viz.* that though he might, as he said, *challenge all the Plantation for his own*, where they dwelt, that yet they would please *to sell* or *give him* a *small Tract of Land*, possibly *an hundred or two of Acres*, and withal desired it might *be Recorded* in the *Town Book*, as a *publick Act*, that so *his Children* which he left behind, might not be turned out, like *Vagabonds*, as destitute of an *habitation* amongst, or near the English, adding this as *the Reason*; That he knew

there would ſhortly *fall out a War* between the Indians and the Engliſh *all over* the Country, and that the Indians at the firſt *ſhould prevail*, and do much miſchief to the Engliſh, and *kill many of them*; But *after the third year*, or after *three years*, all the Indians which ſo did, ſhould be *rooted out*, and *utterly deſtroyed*.

This Story is reported by *Major Waldern*, *Mr. Joſhuah Moodey*, *Captain Froſt*, that live upon, or neat the place. And one of the three forementioned perſons was deſired by the ſaid *Sagamore* to make *a Record hereof*. *Valeat quantum valere poteſt aut debet*. Many Stories of like nature are confidently told, by ſuch as have been more converſant with the Indians, which ſhewed that either *the Conſpiracy* was *a long while* in *Contriving*, or elſe that ſome *Impreſſion* was by a *Divine hand* made upon the *minds of ſome of them*.

For the actings of our *Neighbour Nations* round about us, whether they have had *actually any hand* in our Sufferings, either *inſtigating* of our Enemies, or ſecretly and underhand ſupplying them with neceſſaries wherewith to carry on their deſigne againſt us, without *whoſe Aſſiſtance*, it is ſuppoſed they cou'd hardly thus long have *held out*. It is no queſtion but there are thoſe in the world, that ſay *Aha, at the Calamities of our Sion*, and that like *Edom in Jeruſalems day*, cry, *Raſe it, Raſe it, even to the Foundation thereof*: But for our near Neighbours, whether *Dutch* or *French*, their deſigne in their ſeveral Plantations, being *ſolely*, or *principally Trade*, and knowing that as *formerly they had*, ſo may they *ſtill have* more benefit, and *Advantage* by our *Commerce* and *Traffick* than by our Ruine; it ſeems therefore not ſo *probable*, that they ſhould *promote* or *deſigne* ſuch a *wicked end* to themſelves, much leſs that they ſhould *joyne* with *Pagan Infidels* therein; more *Charity* we judge is due to them that *profeſs the Chriſtian Name*, whatever *Errour* or *Superſtition* their Religion or worſhip may be blinded with.

We may well conceive that *either of them* would not be much unwilling to part with any thing they have to ſell for *Beaver*, nor would they very ſcrupulouſly enquire what the Indians do with their *Powder*, provided they could get their *pay for it*, no more than the Cutler did, to know (as the Tale goes) what the Cutpurſe did with the knife he made him: But that purpoſely either of them have furniſhed our Enemies with means to do us miſchief, we are not *forward to believe*.

As for the *French* at *Cannada* they live at *too great* a diſtance, to have much *Commerce* with our Enemies: And beſides they are not themſelves ſo ſecure of the Indians they deal with as to be *forward* to ſet them againſt others, leſt thereby they come to learn the way to

fall

fall upon themſelves. And beſides it hath been affirmed by ſome of their own Nation, that not long ſince were there, and paſſed home this way, that they are more afraid of Attempts from hence, than we have cauſe to be from them.

Other Reports poſſibly have been taken up concerning us, as if we were *divided in our Counſels*, and were too tenacious of our goods, and readier to keep them for our Enemies, than prudently to lay out what was neceſſary for our own defence and preſervation: no queſtion but many ſuch Rumours as theſe have taken place, in the minds of ſome; But it is hoped that ſuch as are *wiſe and ſerious*, will not give too much to *ſiniſter Reports* till they are *rightly informed*. Greater *Unity of minds* in things of ſuch a nature, hath ſeldome been found amongſt men, that might all along have been obſerved here. If in any thing propounded for the better carrying on the war againſt the Indians, there hath been ſome difference of apprehenſion either from the *ſeeming Impoſſibility* and *Arduouſneſs* of the *Attempt*, or difficulty of the Seaſon; it never occaſioned the *leaſt Remora* of the *Action*, though in things of the greateſt moment. Nor was there ever any difficulty in the *diſburſing* what was *neceſſary* for *carrying on the Affairs* of the *War*, how chargeable ſoever and *Expenſive* it hath been found. The ſcarcity of *Coyne* hath occaſioned a *little Trouble* in ſome preſent *Exigent*, otherwiſe no Reaſon hath been given of any juſt complaint this way. But it being the uſual *Lot of them* that are moſt *ſorely afflicted of God*, to be moſt *deeply cenſured of men*, but we muſt expect to paſs through *Evil* as well as *good Report*.

Poſſibly alſo ſome may here take notice of a very *diſtinguiſhing Providence* in theſe our late Troubles, in that *this Rod of Affliction* hath ſeemed not to ly in an *equal proportion* upon *the body* of the people of *New-England*; which is no *new thing* to obſerve in Calamities of this nature; wherein it is very ordinary for thoſe parts of a Country that lye *next boraering* upon *the Coaſt* of the common Enemy to be moſt *obnoxious to their Incurſions*, and to be more frequently than others *harneſſed thereby*; As hath been the Caſe of us here in theſe *parts of the Earth*, ever ſince the firſt planting thereof: The great numbers of *the Salvages* being *ſwept away* by ſome *unuſual mortality* in all thoſe places, where the body of the people that came over hither, *firſt ſeated themſelves*; ſo as they were not ſo lyable to *their Injuryes* and *Inſolencies*, as thoſe were, who not long after were called to plant *the more remoter parts* of the Country, where were *greater numbers* of them left. Which was the occaſion that the *ſaid Colony* of *Connecticut* was then *ſorely afflicted* with the *Pequods* at their firſt planting, when above *two ſy* of them fell into the

hands of thoſe *cruel miſcreants*, they bordering next or near upon them, ſo as they had an opportunity to *aſſault them* in their *firſt Attempt* for planting that ſide of the Country, as ſometimes *Amalek* did unto *Iſrael of old*. Further alſo it may be conſidered, that our *Brethren of Connecticut* have had no ſmall part of this *preſent tryal*, in that they have been neceſſarily called to lend their aſſiſtance to the other *Colonyes*, which they have upon all occaſions (to their honour be it ſpoken) moſt readily and freely done, not only by their *Articles of Confederation*, but as they were of neceſſity conſtrained in *common prudence* for their own ſafety to do:- *jam proximus ardet Ucalegon*: he that will not help to quench the fire kindled in his Neighbours houſe, may juſtly fear to looſe his own. It may truly be ſaid alſo, that they have had their turn in like troubles at the *firſt hand*, their *Fleeces* being only wetred with a like *bloody ſhowre*, when the *ground all about* was *dry*; as now the contrary hath ſeemed to fall out. To be ſhort we are all but one *Political body*, which ought to be *ſenſible of the Sorrows* that befell any particular members thereof: we all *came over into theſe parts* of *America*, with *one and the ſame end* and aim viz. to enjoy the *libertyes of the Goſpel* in purity and peace, and to *advance the Kingdome of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt*, and being in our firſt ſetling, (by the wiſe Providence of God) farther diſperſed upon the *Sea Coaſts* and *Rivers*, then was at firſt intended, ſo that we could not according to our deſire communicate, in one *Government* and *Juriſdiction*, and being likewiſe where we live, encompaſſed with *people of ſeveral Nations*, which may *prove injurious*, as they have *formerly committed Inſolencies*, and *Outrages* upon ſeveral of our Plantations, we were neceſſitated to *enter into a Conſociation* amongſt our ſelves for *mutual help* and *ſtrength* in ſuch concernments as have now *fallen out*, as is expreſſed in the Preface to the *Artides of Confederation*, agreed upon *May twenty ninth*, 1643.

In the laſt place, upon the conſideration of theſe late *Uproars* amongſt the Indians, ſome may be like to enquire, what is become of the *Converſion of the Natives*, ſo much *famed abroad*, and what *progreſs* the *Goſpel hath made* amongſt them, fearing (as well they may) it is like to be not a little *obſtructed* hereby. It may probably be ſuppoſed, that the *pious endeavours* of ſome to preach the Goſpel amongſt ſeveral of the *Indian Natives*, hath given the firſt occaſion of the Quarrel, as uſually it hath done in the world, But that Oppoſition meeting with no *better Succeſs* in the *Southern parts*, than the Ruine of thoſe that made the *firſt Rebellion* againſt us, Satan hath lately *changed himſelf into an Angel of Light*, under that ſhape, making this his *laſt Attempt*, to the *Eaſtward*.

For

For the chief Leader of thoſe Indians is a *Sagamore* called *Squando*, who hath (as is ſaid by them that lately eſcaped from their hands) *familiar Converſe with the Prince of Darkneſs*, though under the notion of a *good Deity*, putting him upon a *form of Religion*, and forbidding any *acts of Cruelty* and *murther* to be uſed againſt any they oppoſe, if they be *willing to yield*, and in that way promiſing *great Succeſs to his Followers*, what the Iſſues of his proceedings will be, God only knows, and a little time may diſcover. But for thoſe that before theſe troubles have *profeſſedly owned the Chriſtian Name*, many of them have given *notable proof* of their *ſincerity*, by fighting againſt their, and our Enemies, and have been very ſucceſsful in their Endeavours: as well theſe in the *upper parts of Cape-Cod*, commonly called *Cape Indians*. as thoſe about *Natick*, and *Haſſinameſet*, within the *Maſſachuſet Juriſdiction*. It is not my purpoſe to enlarge much on this hand, that I might not raiſe the expectation of the world to greater matters than for the preſent do appear.

There are about *ſix Societies of Indians* in the Country, who have *profeſſedly owned themſelves Chriſtians*; In every one of which it is ſuppoſed there are ſome, that do make *a ſerious profeſſion* of the Chriſtian Religion. The Salvation of whoſe Souls is worth far more pains and coſt than ever yet was laid out upon that work.

It is not a *ſmall thing*, that in theſe *dark places* of the Earth, which in all Ages paſt, ſince mankind had any knowledge thereof, have been full of nothing but the *habitations of Cruelty*, the light of the Goſpel ſhould *take ſo much place*, as to cauſe any number of thoſe *Vaſſals of Satan* where he ſo long hath had *his Throne*, profeſſedly to *owne* the Name of *the Lord Jeſus Chriſt*. What Harveſt is like to be of the *Boay of them*, in the *preſent*, or in the *future time*, is not for any of us to ſpeak: neither at what *hour*, or under what *Viall*, they ſhall be ſent to *labour in Gods Vineyard*, leaſt we ſhould thereby ſeem to *entrench upon the Sovereignty of the Almighty*, in whoſe hands are *the times and Seaſons of grace*, as well as of *nature*. There are many Nations in the world, to this day, lying out from *the Kingdome of the Lord Jeſus*, who were never yet known profeſſedly to *owne his Scepter*, although probably the Goſpel hath at ſome time or other been *preached unto them*, or ſent amongſt them; It may be, only to be a *Teſtimony unto them*, and ſo to leave them *without excuſe* another day.

Whether any farther end in Reference to theſe amongſt our ſelves is aimed at, in the wiſe and *unſearchable Counſels* of the great God, is known only to himſelf, and may be thought more convenient for him that *writes*, and them that *read the preſent Narrative*, to leave to the after

after determination of *future Events*, rather than to intrude our ſelves into that which is out of *our Line*, or beyond *our Sphere*. Thus much without offence may be affirmed, that in all the *habitable places of the Earth*, wherever God *hath*, or ever *had a People* calling upon his Name, never any notable work of Religion was known to take much place, where ſome kind of Civility, and *Culture of good manners*, had not gone before.

Adde quod ingenuas, didiciſſe Fideliter Artes:
Emollit mores, nec ſinit eſſe feros.

God in his *natural Providence*, hath taught the *Husbandman to plough the ground*, to *break* and *open the Clods* thereof, before he *caſts in the Seed*: In the diſpenſation of his grace he uſually obſerves the *ſame method*; to break up the *fallow grounds* of the *Nations of the world*, and not to *ſow among Thorns*. When he that ſits upon the *white horſe*, with his *Bow and his Crown*, and went forth *conquering and to conquer*, it was amongſt the *Civil*, and not amongſt the *Barbarous and Salvage Nations of the World*: They that *preach the Goſpel elſe* will have a *double Task*, (the leaſt of which hath been found *hard enough* for the *beſt of men*, who is *ſufficient for theſe things*, ſaith *St. Paul*) the *great Apoſtle* of the *Gentiles* to convert men, Firſt, from *Salvage Paganiſme*, then *to Chriſtianity*. It is commonly ſaid that the *Turks* will not admit a *Jew* to become a *Mahometan*, till he hath firſt turned *Chriſtian*; To be ſure we rarely find any *Gentill Nation* turned *Chriſtian* before they became *Humane*. Divine Providence hath improved the *Roman Sword* to make way for the *Scepter of the Goſpel of Peace*. That Civility that is found amongſt the *Natives* of this Country, hath hitherto been *carryed on* and obtained, only by the gentle means of *Courteſy*, *Familiarity*, and ſuch like *civil behaviour*, which in other places was never yet attended with any *eminent Succeſs* that way. It ſeems ſome Religious Gentlemen in *Virginia*, had great hopes of the *Converſion of the Indians* to *Chriſtianity*, a little before the *Maſſacre there*; The means principally uſed by them was *Familiarity* and *kindneſs*: One *Mr. Thorps* well reputed for Religion, and in Command, one of the principal in *Virginia*, did ſo truly *affect the Converſion* of the Indians there, that whoſoever under him did them the *leaſt diſpleaſure*, were puniſhed *ſeverely*. He thought nothing too dear for them: And to *content them* in all things, he cauſed many *Engliſh Maſtives* to be killed, and would have taken a Courſe to have *ſufficiently tamed* the reſt. He conferred often with their *great Sachem* about Religion, and made him *confeſs* that the *Engliſhmans*

God

God was better than the Indians: This Gentleman out of his good meaning was so full of Confidence and void of Suspition, that he would never believe *any hurt* of them, till he *felt their cruel hands imbrued in his own blood*; they *barbarously murthering him* amongst the rest. *Mr.* Stockain a serious and *judicious Minister* in *Virginia*, & *Pious* also, for ought is here of his Life at that time when all things were so prosperous there, & the Salvages were thought to be at the point of Conversion, *against the Opinions* of all others, both *Governours* and *Council*, wrote his mind to the *Council* and Company in *England* about this point in these words.

"For the Conversion of the Salvages, I wonder you use not the means: "I confess you say well to have them *converted by fair means*; but they "scorne to acknowledge it; As for the gifts bestowed on them, *they* "*devour them*, and so they would the *givers* if they could: Many have "endeavoured by kindness to convert them, yet find nothing from "them, but *derision* and *Ridiculous Answers*: We have sent *Boyes* "among them to learn their Language, but they return worse than "they went: But I am no States man, nor love I to meddle with any "thing but my Books; But I can find no probability, by this Course "to draw them to goodness: And I am perswaded if *Mars and Mi-*"*nerva* go hand in hand, they will effect more good in *an hour* than those "*Verbal Mercurians* in their lives: Adding that there will be no hope "of their Conversion till their *Priests* (possibly he meant their *Powaws*) "be removed from them. The natural *barbarousness* and *perfidiousness* of their disposition may in part *be gathered* by this Story.

When some of *Pocasset* Indians in *Plimouth Jurisdiction* had professed their Service to *Captain Church*; as they were in pursuit of the Indians our Enemies, one of the said Indians from the *top of an hill* discerned a Company of *Wigwams*, where those they went to seek, had taken up their Stations, he called to his *Captain*, and pointing to *one of the* outermost *Wigwams*, told him that was *his Fathers Wigwam*, and asked if he must now go and *kill his Father*; No saith *Captain Church*, do but shew me where he is and I will *deal with him*, do you fall upon some others: to which the said Indian only replyed in broken English; That *very good speak*; whereby their *natural perfidiousness* even to their *nearest Relations* may be observed, which makes their *Treachery* towards us their *Forreign Neighbours*, the less to be *wondred at*. And therefore till they be reduced to more *Civility*, some wise men are ready to fear Religion will not take much place amongst the body of them.

Likewise when *Philip* was kept in the Swamp at *Pocasset*, it is certainly affirmed that several of their *young Children* were *killed by them-*